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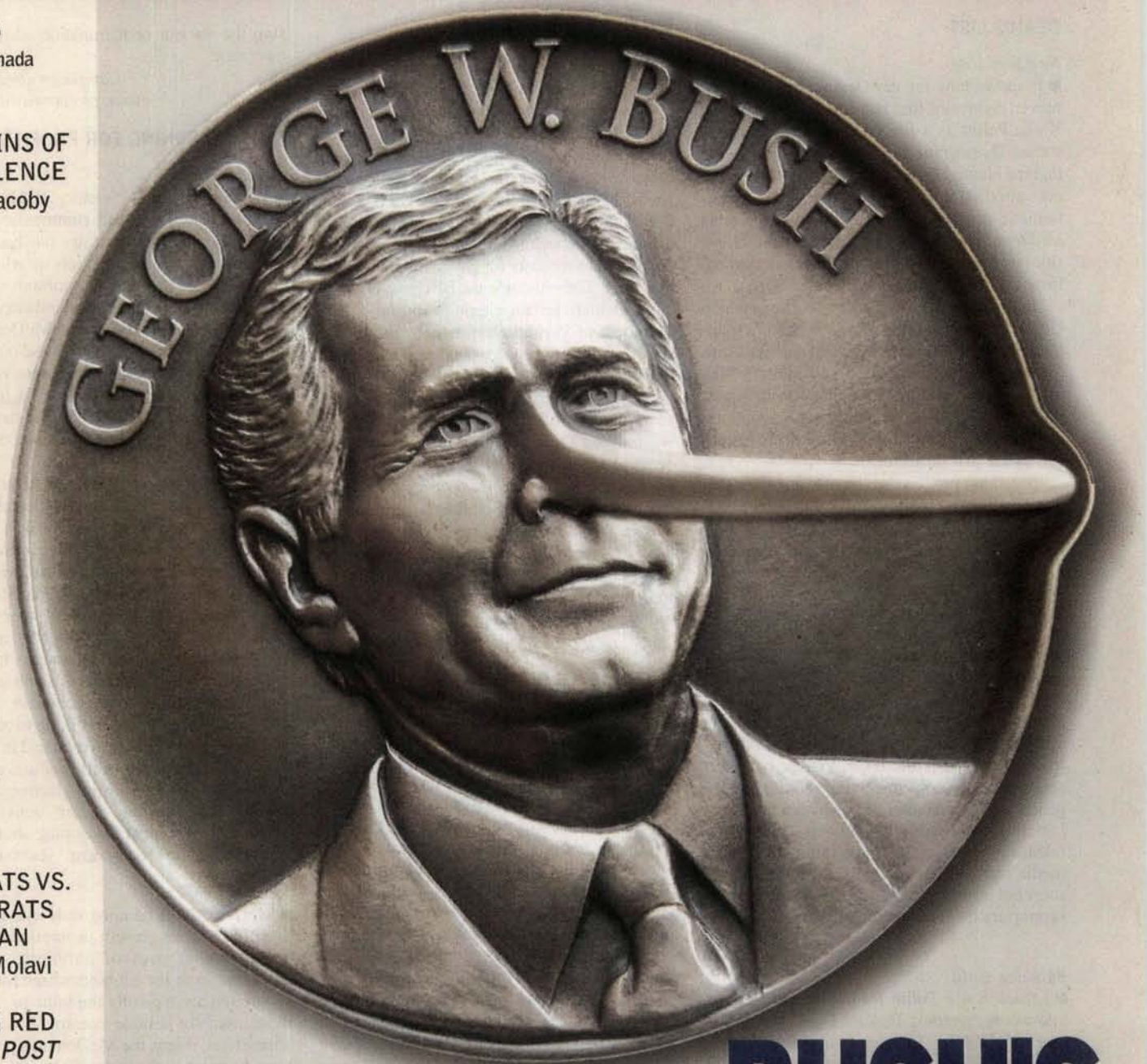

BUSH'S OTHER LIES

by DAVID CORN

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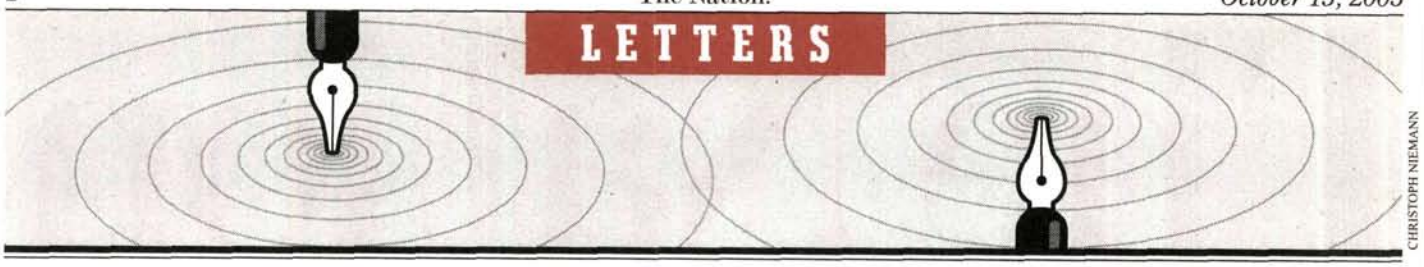

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

DEAN'S LIST

New York City

■ It shows how far the Democratic Party has moved rightward that Howard Dean is seen by Katha Pollitt as a *liberal alternative* to mainstream Democratic candidates, when he insists that the bloated Pentagon budget is off-limits to cuts and that universal health coverage is unrealistic for our country—and when he talks on *Meet the Press* of raising the Social Security retirement age and of deploying additional troops to Iraq ["Subject to Debate," Sept. 1/8].

In the same *New York Times* profile in which Governor Dean boasted of having been "a triangulator before Clinton," he made another claim (ignoring Dennis Kucinich and others): "It's kind of a sad commentary that I'm the most progressive candidate running, out here talking about a balanced budget and a healthcare system run by the private sector."

Shouldn't progressives be resisting the rightward drift of the party instead of acquiescing?

JEFF COHEN, *communications director*
Kucinich for President (www.kucinich.us)

Scottsdale, Ariz.

■ Katha Pollitt says, "Right now, Dean is the only viable candidate who speaks to the anger, fear and loathing a large number of ordinary citizens feel about the direction Bush has taken the country." I respectfully disagree with this all-too-common assessment of why Dean is attracting so many supporters. Dean's real attraction for me is the hope, vision, common sense, honesty, problem-solving abilities, intelligence, real compassion and charisma he offers. Labeling the Dean phenomenon as simply a release of pent-up anger ("venting" in current media terminology) is not only selling *Dean* short but also his thoughtful and conscientious supporters from across the political spectrum.

GUY IVESTER

Berkeley, Calif.

■ I thank Katha Pollitt for putting my feelings into words regarding Howard Dean. I am a 37-year-old lifelong Democrat, liberal at times, moderate at times. I would vote for a moldy gym sock against George W. Bush, if that's what the Democrats put on the ticket. I don't care whether Dean's an overt liberal or a secret moderate, all I care is that he's stood up to Bush and he's caught the country's imagination. I've tried to get excited about Kerry or Gephardt or Edwards, but let's face it—they're boring. Six months ago I never imagined being a Dean supporter, but Dean is the most exciting candidate in the race. He has the best chance of beating George "WMD" Bush, because he's someone liberals *and* moderates can get behind. JEFF KOSTOS

PERLE OF GREAT PRICE

Washington, DC

■ Ari Berman's excellent "Payments for Perle" [Aug. 18/25] brings to light an issue that many of us who report from Washington for overseas broadcasters have long faced. We were one of many who were asked—but declined—to pay Richard Perle for an interview on US policy on Iraq. The issue is unfortunately blurred by the disgraceful behavior of those broadcasters who do accede to requests for payments by officials like Perle. These include the BBC, which—like most British broadcasters—habitually pays Members of Parliament for their opinions; a slew of Japanese broadcasters; and, as Berman reports, CTV of Canada.

Perle is not alone in demanding fees. Several years ago, an oft-quoted pundit with one of Washington's leading think tanks instituted a demand for payment by foreign broadcasters but continued to offer his services free to US broadcast outlets. Some months later, I received a letter from him inviting me to participate in a survey on the "attitudes of foreign broadcasters based in Washington." I completed my survey, and popped a bill for my time in the mail. I'm still waiting for a check. SIMON MARKS

Feature Story News

CHERNOBYLS ON WHEELS

Seattle

■ I thank Robert Alvarez for an excellent piece detailing the history of the Hanford Reservation in Washington State ["The Legacy of Hanford," Aug. 18/25]. George W. Bush and his Energy Department are currently planning to make Hanford a national radioactive-waste dump. This misguided proposal will require over 70,000 truckloads of deadly waste (each one a potential dirty bomb) to travel thousands of miles on the nation's highways to Hanford, where that waste will be dumped in unlined trenches, to flow into the Columbia River.

This outrageous plan is being opposed through a citizens' initiative in the Washington State legislature, with a simple demand. I-297 requires that the Hanford site—the most toxic real estate in the Western Hemisphere, second only to Chernobyl as the most toxic place on Earth—be cleaned up before any more waste can be dumped. I-297 guarantees that the jobs connected to the cleanup will continue, as the cleanup funds are already in the system. I-297 is drawing together a rarely seen coalition of peace and justice groups, environmental activists and faith-based organizations determined to reverse the Administration's shortsighted actions.

We ask for help from people around the country to help us make the ballot in 2004 and stop the nuclear contamination while we still have time. JIM GOETTLER

Campaign director, I-297
www.protectwashington.org

$TILL POISONING FOR PROFIT$

Berkeley, Calif.

■ William Greider's "Victory at McDonald's" [August 18/25] is a sad commentary on how thoroughly the food industry has been able to shape the general perception of what constitutes food—and, just as important, what constitutes "reform" of the food industry. Greider celebrates the decision by McDonald's to compel its meat suppliers to phase out growth-promoting antibiotics as "a progressive political breakthrough," despite feeling "a little awkward" about doing so. Perhaps he should have listened to that pang of conscience before declaring victory.

Greider rightly calls attention to the slim, but real, public-health and environmental benefits that may result from the McDonald's directive. But he ignores the underlying motivation: to help the company set and control the terms of the food-industry-reform agenda. Stripped of corporate spin, the McDonald's stance on antibiotics is little more than a savvy marketing effort to placate civic-action groups while allowing the firm to sell as much of its unhealthy, ecologically destructive food as possible.

McDonald's has been working to bathe itself in a warm green light for years, and in response to mounting criticism of its products and practices, it is ratcheting up its greenwashing PR. Greider and the "buy green" activists' time would be better spent developing strategies for restructuring the food system. RICHARD GANIS

Machipongo, Va.

■ McDonald's is banning only one antibiotic used in chicken-growth promotion. The ban permits other uses of antibiotics in their chickens. Since the antibiotics used for growth-promotion are typically the same or similar to those used for disease control, it is doubtful what effect, if any, the McDonald's policy will have. With or without antibiotics, the poultry industry can manipulate weight gain artificially by, for example, deactivating the protein that prevents birds' muscles from overdeveloping, or by disrupting normal gut processes so that birds that are full feel empty and continue eating. The trade literature is full of test reports on alternatives to antimicrobial growth-promoters in animal food production.

It is a pipe dream that birds and other animals can be healthily and humanely raised for mass consumption. Moreover, the genetic engi-

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EDITORIALS

Bush the Misleader

He's still misleading. Speaking at the United Nations on September 23, George W. Bush defended his invasion of Iraq by noting that Saddam Hussein's regime had "cultivated ties to terror while it built weapons of mass destruction" and that Iraq had "used those weapons." Slippery statements. Bush pushed the country to war by claiming that Saddam had unconventional weapons and could hand them at any moment to Al Qaeda, with whom he was "dealing." Now Bush offers a more generalized description of the threat Saddam posed to the United States. As for his "use" of WMDs, that horrendous act occurred in the 1980s, and it never prevented Reagan and Bush I from cozying up to him. Bush also claimed he invaded Iraq "to defend...the credibility of the United Nations," falsely suggesting that the UN at that time did not plan to deal with Iraq's violation of its resolutions. And Bush praised Iraq's new leaders for "showing the openness and tolerance that democracy requires"—without mentioning that the Iraqi Governing Council (handpicked by the United States) was in the process of banning Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya from council news conferences and government ministries on the grounds that the two satellite networks had engaged in "irresponsible activities."

Stuck in Iraq, Bush and his crew are holding tight to the untruths that greased their way to war and are concocting new ones—even as they contradict one another. Appearing on *Meet the Press*, Vice President Cheney was asked about any connection between Saddam and the 9/11 attacks. "Of course," he replied, "we've had the story...[that] the Czechs alleged that Mohamed Atta, the lead attacker, met in Prague with a senior Iraqi intelligence official." Czech President Vaclav Havel notified Washington a year ago that there was no evidence to confirm that. Days later, Bush undermined his Veep, telling reporters, "We've had no evidence that Saddam Hussein was involved with September the 11th." But Bush insisted Cheney was right to state that Saddam had been involved with Al Qaeda, and he pointed to the presence in Iraq (at some point) of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, calling him "an Al Qaeda operative," despite the fact that US intelligence analysts have said Zarqawi operates outside Al Qaeda control.

At a recent luncheon Donald Rumsfeld said that before the war UN inspectors had "concluded that the inspection process really wasn't working because of lack of cooperation on the part of Saddam Hussein's regime." Not at all. The inspectors had issued mixed progress reports but wanted to continue the process. On *Nightline*, Condoleezza Rice said that before the war "we were talking about large stockpiles of unaccounted-for [unconventional] weapons. Large stockpiles cited by the United Nations." But the UN had not cited stockpiles. Its inspectors had maintained that they had destroyed much of Iraq's WMDs but had found discrepancies in the accounting of weapons and WMD material. The inspectors did not conclude that this meant there were large weapons stockpiles.

Bush and his crew are looking desperate as the Iraq occupation becomes more of a problem than the Cheney/Wolfowitz we-will-be-welcomed prewar claims had suggested. Even Republicans on Capitol Hill are restless over his $87 billion budget request for Iraq. Polls show that people are questioning Bush's credibility on Iraq. They should. In this issue, Washington editor David Corn, drawing from his new book, *The Lies of George W. Bush: Mastering the Politics of Deception*, demonstrates that lying has been "one of the essential tools" of the Bush presidency, and it has not been limited to Iraq. Tax cuts, the environment, Social Security, stem-cell research, homeland security—on almost every issue confronting us, Bush has been a prevaricator.

In mid-September, Rumsfeld was asked about his March 30 claim that he knew where Iraq's WMDs could be found. "Sometimes I overstate for emphasis," he said. Quite an understatement. This Administration has embraced "overstatement"—and fabrication, exaggeration and misrepresentation. It has waged war not

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only abroad but also at home—a war on honest discourse. And it shows no sign of retreating.

* * *

Just how destructive Bush's lies, and his policies, have been to America's standing in the world community was reflected in the blunt criticisms made by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and others on the opening day of the General Assembly. Annan said the logic of pre-emption and unilateralism "represents a fundamental challenge to the principles on which, however imperfectly, world peace and stability have rested for the last fifty-eight years."

California Recall, Cont.

"We don't have a *Bush v. Gore* problem," Judge Alex Kozinski declared as the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit decided to let California's October 7 vote go forward on whether to recall Governor Gray Davis and with whom to replace him if the recall passes. Sweeping aside equal-protection concerns, the eleven-judge panel unanimously overturned an earlier decision to delay the election because evidence suggested that flawed punch-card systems in six counties might disfranchise as many as 40,000 voters. Instead, the judges decided that the harm done to the public by postponing the recall would be greater than the harm done by using faulty machines.

Kozinski's declaration referred to the 2000 presidential election debacle in Florida, where thousands of voters—most of them from counties that strongly supported Al Gore—were disqualified because of flawed voting systems, bad ballot designs and officials who seemed more zealous about preventing voters from casting ballots than getting an accurate count. But this isn't just about Florida, or California. Voters are disfranchised all the time; Florida made the news—and the courts—only because control of the White House came down to a few votes. That's why Congress must establish universal voting and vote-counting standards that assure that ballots cast anywhere in America carry the same weight.

Now the drama in California moves from the courts back to the candidates. Polls suggest that with the help of former President Clinton, former Vice President Gore, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and most of the candidates for next year's Democratic presidential nomination, Davis is having some success in making the recall vote a referendum on the Republican Party's penchant for gaming the system. That focus conveniently skirts the fact that Davis remains an extremely unpopular figure. On the matter of who should replace him, Republican Arnold Schwarzenegger's celebrity appeal has not yet converted to the poll numbers his backers anticipated—at least in part because a lot of California Republicans prefer right-wing purist Tom McClintock. Democrat Cruz Bustamante has kept even with Schwarzenegger so far, but his grab-it-all approach to fundraising has caught up with him—a county judge just told him to stop dipping into an old campaign account and to return the $4 million in it to donors. Independent Arianna Huffington, though an attractive candidate, has yet to catch fire.

This recall election was staged by right-wing insiders and millionaires. It did not spring from the grassroots. But now that it's on, at least let's hope all the votes are counted.

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COMMENT

Which Side Is Clark On?

ELECTION MATTERS

The media shorthand for retired Gen. Wesley Clark's much-anticipated presidential candidacy made him the "antiwar warrior," a military man fully aware of the folly of George Bush's Iraq war. But Clark rewrote the shorthand in the first hours of his campaign with a series of pronouncements that suggested he had completely misread the grassroots enthusiasm for his candidacy. Asked whether he would have voted for the October 2002 Congressional resolution that authorized the United States to invade Iraq, Clark replied, "At the time, I probably would have voted for it, but I think that's too simple a question." It certainly wasn't a simple question for Clark. A day later, he was still struggling with it, telling a reporter in Iowa, "Let's make one thing real clear—I would never have voted for this war, never." He then proceeded to say, "I would have voted for the right kind of leverage to get a diplomatic solution, an international solution to the challenge of Saddam Hussein." So, while Clark would never have voted for war, he would have voted for the resolution Bush used as his authorization to launch the war. For good measure, Clark explained that he had "a very consistent record on this."

Clark is the only Rhodes scholar in the race, but his bungling of what should have been his strongest issue suggests that he doesn't quite understand why so many grassroots Democrats wanted to draft the man who, as a CNN commentator, regularly criticized the Bush Administration's rush to war. The question the general dismissed as "too simple" is a defining measure for much of the party's base. After the majority of Congressional Democrats voted against the war resolution, Howard Dean used his outspoken opposition to position himself as the most genuinely anti-Bush candidate. Dean dismissed Democrats who supported the resolution—Representative Dick Gephardt and Senators John Kerry, John Edwards and Joe Lieberman—with the line, "I question the judgment of those who led us into this conflict...." Kerry aides contend that had their candidate voted differently, Dean would never have gotten traction. And they're probably right.

Dean has been reasonably steady in his opposition to the war, but the man who says "I don't even consider myself a dove" has taken hits for his willingness to keep US troops in Iraq for an extended period. Representative Dennis Kucinich—who with Florida Senator Bob Graham voted against the resolution—is the most consistent "bring the troops home" candidate. Yet the *Washington Post*, like most other major media, persists in pegging Dean as "the most visible Democratic candidate to oppose the war in Iraq." It looked like Clark might wrestle that mantle away from him, but then the general opened his mouth.

ENDORSEMENT OF THE WEEK: The International Association of Fire Fighters—a union with an awesome political action operation (Al Gore hailed the firefighters as his best backers in 2000) and loads of post-9/11 street cred—has endorsed Kerry. A factor: Vermont firefighters gave Dean low marks because they said that as governor, he failed to push their legislative initiatives. A good bet: With firefighters backing Kerry, Gephardt's chances of securing an AFL-CIO endorsement dwindle. JOHN NICHOLS

Seeing Red at the Post

I did a double take when I got to the eighth paragraph of the *Washington Post*'s eleven-paragraph August 21 news story on Kathy Boudin's parole.

The story was by Charles Lane (whose byline I recognized from his days as editor of *The New Republic*) and one Christine Haughney, identified as reporting "from New York." It began with a traditional opening paragraph: "New York State authorities granted parole yesterday to Kathy Boudin, a former left-wing militant who spent the last 22 years behind bars for a 1981 armored car holdup that left two police officers and a security guard dead." The piece went on to describe, with quotations from both sides, the "intense debate" surrounding the decision.

And then came paragraph eight: "The child of a left-wing civil-liberties lawyer, Boudin, 60, was educated at the Communist-influenced Elisabeth Irwin High School in New York, graduated from Bryn Mawr College and..."

Say what?

Here let me state my various interests. I too am a graduate (albeit ten years before Kathy Boudin) of the Elisabeth Irwin High School, the upper school of the Little Red School House, and to call it Communist-influenced (with a capital C, no less, thereby implying that it was under Communist Party influence if not control) seemed to me, for reasons I describe below, a confusing, and maybe even malicious, non sequitur.

I didn't go to Bryn Mawr (which was "all girls," as they used to say) but I did go to Swarthmore, which is only thirteen miles away and, like Bryn Mawr, was founded by Quakers. If we are going to play the academic-influence card, unless some preconceived agenda was operating here, why assume that Communists (big or small *c*) were more influential than Quakers in the education of Kathy Boudin?

And I guess I also should mention that when I am not at *The Nation* I teach at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, whose magazine, *CJR*, recently devoted the better part of an issue to "Rethinking Objectivity." Brent Cunningham's essay made it clear: "Ask ten journalists what objectivity means and you'll get ten different answers." Nevertheless, the received wisdom still seems to be that while pure objectivity may not be possible, the ideal of objectivity is to be honored, and that it is important for reporters either to acknowledge their biases or suppress them. Until I arrived at paragraph eight I thought I recognized a textbook case of mainstream journalistic objectivity—the headline ("Former Militant Is Granted Parole/Boudin's Upcoming Release Angers Victim's Family") was arguably neutral, and the inverted-pyramid story structure, quotations from both sides and all the rest, could have appeared in an Associated Press report. But labeling my alma mater "Communist-influenced"—whether true or false—seemed to me, with my professor's hat on, gratuitous.

Was I wrong? Perhaps there was something I was missing. I called the *Post*'s New York office, where I discovered that Christine Haughney couldn't help me, since the Communist-influence charge was not included in the material she'd filed from New York.

It was only after conversations with Andrew McLaren, the di-

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COMMENT

rector of the Little Red School House and the Elisabeth Irwin High School, that I discovered the story behind the story. McLaren had sent a letter to the editor strongly protesting the mislabeling of the school, and instead of getting the correction he asked for he got a letter from Charles Lane explaining why "I do not agree with you that my article requires a correction." The reason:

"It is widely known that the school was a haven for blacklisted teachers during the 1950s (e.g., acknowledged Communist Party, USA, member Earl Robinson, the writer of 'Joe Hill,' who chaired the music department), that many of its students were the children of CPUSA members from New York, and that party members and fellow travelers such as WEB Du Bois and Paul Robeson spoke at the school and were celebrated in its curriculum. In his memoir, alumnus Ronald Radosh recalls learning Marxism-Leninism in his social studies classes during the 1950s."

Lane then selectively quotes alumni who had contributed to a seventy-fifth anniversary commemorative publication, including one who reported, "We were all pretty much left-leaning 'progressives.'" And, presumably as a clincher, Lane adds that "the school closed on the day of the execution of Soviet spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, also CPUSA members, in 1953, because all of its teachers were in Washington protesting the execution."

Never mind that Lane conflates communists with *C*ommunists (i.e., members of CPUSA). Never mind that Lane conflates left-leaning progressives with *C*ommunists. Never mind that during this period the CP kept its distance from the Rosenbergs. Never mind that the only example of a party member on the faculty Lane cites is the music teacher. And never mind that despite a daily letters page, a Saturday "Free for All" page and a Sunday ombudsman column, the *Post* found no room for at least one letter (mine) pointing out that the real influence on the school came less from Karl Marx than from famously anti-Stalinist John Dewey, whose theories of progressive education provided its underpinning.

In the end, the *Post* persuaded McLaren to withdraw his request for a correction and published a watered-down version of his letter.

Of course, like all schools, EI influenced different students in different ways. At least one critic found Ron Radosh's memoir, *Commies: A Journey Through the Old Left, the New Left, and the Leftover Left*, which includes a chapter called "The Little Red Schoolhouse," to be a good example of "literature of leftist intellectual disillusionment." Who knows how it impacted such other students as Elliott Abrams, neocon; Angela Davis, CP member; Robert DeNiro, actor; Karl Meyer, now editor of the *World Policy Review*, once a *Post* editorial writer and London bureau chief; or Dan Menaker, editor in chief of Random House, among others?

Like Ron, I came to appreciate folk songs through my exposure to EI's popular-front culture, but my own memories of life at EI are happier than his. My favorite teachers included my junior-year homeroom teacher, Mr. Marvin, a New England transcendentalist. Once, when we were asked what the class thought of *Moby-Dick* (our summer reading assignment) and my friend Richard Atkinson courageously said he thought it was boring, Mr. Marvin responded, "*Moby-Dick* isn't on trial, Mr. Atkinson, you are." Another was Barney Boston, who couldn't have cared less about the theory of dialectical materialism, but as the school's phys-ed instructor he had a helluva theory about the zone defense.

My real question, then, was and is, Why refer to the influence—red or otherwise—of Kathy Boudin's high school in a so-called objective story about her parole, unless to score an ideological point? There is plenty of room for a feature story on EI or an analysis of the various influences on Boudin, including no doubt the Quaker-influenced Bryn Mawr. But to arbitrarily inject as assumed fact a disputed accusation in the course of a news story about something else seems at best a dubious journalistic practice.

The Bush Administration has labored mightily to suggest—without quite saying it—a link between Saddam and terrorists. Now comes Charles Lane and the *Post* to suggest—without quite saying it—a link between the old CPUSA and terrorists. In the old days, there was a word for this sort of thing, two actually: red-baiting. Now that the cold war is over, I'm not quite sure what to call it. Maybe "bad journalism" will do. In the words of the old folk song, "When will they ever learn?" VICTOR NAVASKY

CALVIN TRILLIN

A Word to George Bush On the Occasion of His Mentioning That Iraq Was Not Responsible For the Attacks on 9/11

You tell us, with a casual by-the-way,
Iraq was not behind that awful day,
As if we'd never heard your staff and you
Implying just the opposite was true.
The web must say, or maybe Lexis-Nexis,
If *chutzpa* is a word they use in Texas.

No-Privacy Zone

Almost nine months ago, the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) disclosed plans to upgrade the nation's airport security system with data-mining technology designed to catch potential terrorists before they board commercial flights. The second-generation Computer Assisted Passenger Prescreening System (CAPPS II) would scan government and private-sector databases for criminal, financial and other information and ferret out high-risk passengers using a color-coded "risk score." As details emerged, however, the program became embroiled in controversy. Senator Ron Wyden, instrumental in exposing the privacy threat posed by John Poindexter's Total Information Awareness

(Continued on Page 22)

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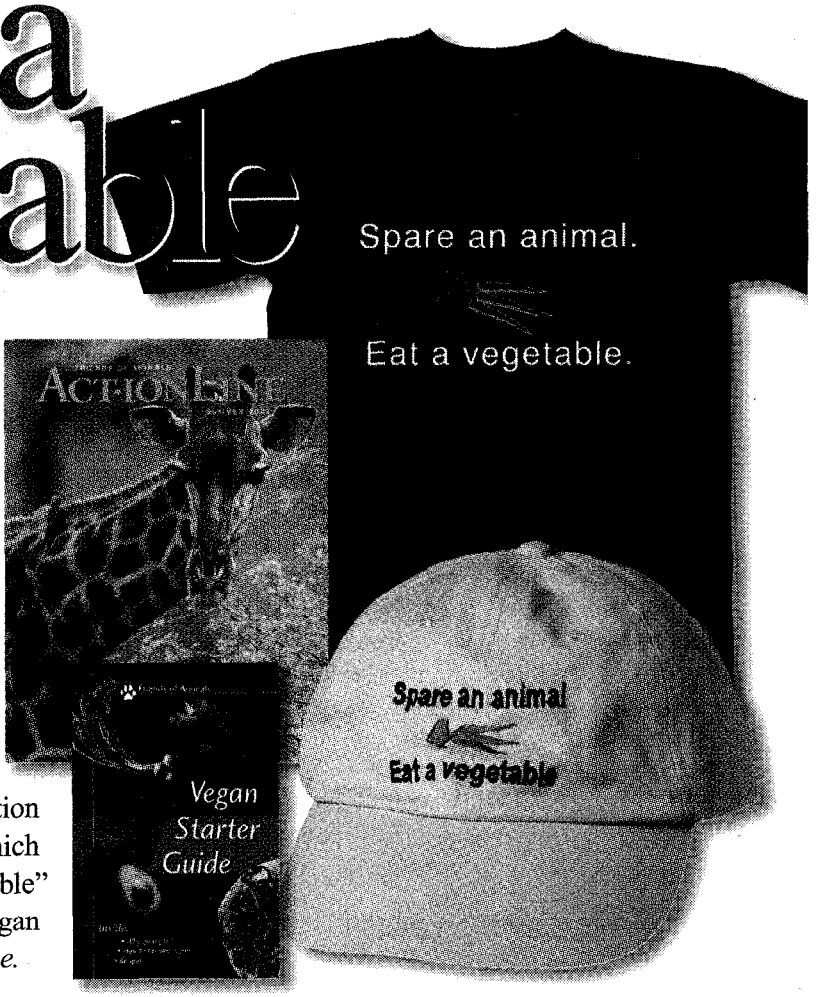
Spare an Animal Eat a Vegetable



Today, millions of Americans are vegetarians and millions more have greatly reduced their meat consumption. This major shift toward a vegetarian diet is because people have discovered the cruelties inherent in meat production and the link between meat consumption and human disease. You can help support Friends of Animals' "Spare an Animal—Eat a Vegetable" campaign by filling in the coupon below! Friends of Animals is an international animal rights organization with more than 200,000 members around the world.

We will thank you for your tax-deductible donation of $20 or more with a one-year membership which entitles you to a "Spare an Animal—Eat a Vegetable" T-shirt or cap (indicate size and color below), FoA's Vegan Starter Guide, and our quarterly magazine *Act•ionLine.*

☐ **Yes! I would like to join Friends of Animals.**
Please send me the Vegan Starter Guide, *Act•ionLine, and* the T-shirt or cap I have selected below. All for only $20!

☐ Women's T-shirt – black only (circle size) S M L XL

☐ Men's T-shirt – black only (circle size) S M L XL

☐ Cap – in khaki or black (one size fits all, circle color)

I would like to order_____"Spare an Animal—Eat a Vegetable" T-shirts as indicated below for $14 each.

☐ Women's T-shirt – black only (circle size) S M L XL

☐ Men's T-shirt – black only (circle size) S M L XL

☐ Caps – _____khaki _____black for $14 each.

☐ Check or money order payable to Friends of Animals enclosed

☐ Please charge my ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

ACCOUNT NUMBER _____ EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE _____ DATE

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You may Fax credit card orders to 203-656-0267

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Priscilla Feral, President
Friends of Animals
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In Fact . . .

LESSONS FROM ALGIERS

■ Adam Shatz writes: Recently the Pentagon screened Gillo Pontecorvo's 1965 *The Battle of Algiers* for a group of forty officers and civilian experts, on the theory that the film's highly praised quasi-documentary realism would help them understand urban guerrilla warfare in Iraq. But a better analogy to the situation in today's Iraq is Israel's predicament in southern Lebanon in 1982. After winning the gratitude of much of the Shiite population for rooting out the PLO, Israel decided to effect "regime change," creating an army of collaborator-militias and carrying out sweeps. The result was the emergence of Hezbollah, a guerrilla organization that carried out a disciplined and highly effective struggle against the Israeli occupation, ultimately forcing Israel to withdraw. But even if the *The Battle of Algiers* analogy isn't perfect, it's still worth contemplating. The French officer who leads the battle in Pontecorvo's film is Colonel Mathieu, an urbane, charismatic veteran of the Resistance, loosely modeled on Jacques Massu, the commander of the French forces in Algiers. In his efforts to quell the insurgency, Mathieu introduces a reign of terror, killing, torturing and humiliating Algerians. Journalists raise objections at press conferences, but Mathieu puts them in their place, much as Donald Rumsfeld does today. Mathieu "wins," but, as Pontecorvo reminds us, five years later Algeria achieves independence, thanks to the tenacity of the Algerian people but also to Gen. Charles de Gaulle, who, after years of insisting he would never "abandon" Algeria, finally decided that France had much more to lose by staying than by leaving. He had to summon enormous courage to do so, overcoming the objections of a furious settler lobby and the warnings of timid colleagues who told him, as neocons do today, that he mustn't "cut and run." Rather than study the methods of Mathieu (whose contrite real-life model, Massu, repudiated torture before his death last year), the Pentagon would be better advised to study de Gaulle's example and set a rapid timetable for withdrawal.

ANYONE FOLLOWING THE MONEY?

■ In an interview with the Associated Press on September 18, Senator Edward Kennedy charged that a recent report by the Congressional Budget Office showed only about $2.5 billion of the $4 billion now being spent monthly on the Iraq occupation could be accounted for. He said he believed much of the unaudited money was "being shuffled all around to these political leaders in all parts of the world, bribing them to send in troops." For daring to criticize the President, Kennedy came under fire from a well-drilled squad of GOP senators, but his office has already released figures showing how foreign aid is being used to attract support for the occupation, including troop contributions present and future, by countries like Turkey, Jordan, Egypt and Pakistan. Kennedy and fellow Democrats should hold hearings on the extent of the Administration's use of diplomatic baksheesh.

THE ORWELLIAN MR. DELAY

■ Matt Bivens notes that Senator Kennedy's interview, cited above—in which he also called the war in Iraq a "fraud" cooked up in Texas for political advantage—outraged House majority leader Tom DeLay. Previously DeLay fretted about Democrats' committing a hate crime by daring to oppose a radical right-wing judicial nominee who is Hispanic. Now, in the wake of Kennedy's remarks, DeLay is worried that the Democrats haven't been hateful enough. As he puts it, "It's disturbing that Democrats have spewed more hateful rhetoric at President Bush than they ever did at Saddam Hussein." Perhaps the Democrats could satisfy DeLay by taking a leaf from George Orwell's *1984* and organizing a Saddam Hate Week (read Matt Bivens's latest "Daily Outrage" at www.thenation.com).

THE ISRAELI PEACE MOVEMENT TAKES FLIGHT

■ A group of twenty-seven active reserve pilots and former pilots in the Israeli Air Force have signed an open letter declaring that they will no longer take part in the assassination campaign in the occupied territories: "We, veteran and active pilots alike, who served and still serve the State of Israel for long weeks every year, are opposed to carrying out attack orders that are illegal and immoral.... We, who were raised to love the State of Israel and contribute to the Zionist enterprise, refuse to take part in air force attacks on civilian population centers.... These actions are...a direct result of the ongoing occupation, which is corrupting all of Israeli society." The move, taken by a group regarded as the elite of the military, should give new encouragement to a refusenik movement that has fallen out of the headlines in recent months.

JOHN LOWENTHAL

■ John Lowenthal, who died on September 9 in London, was a lawyer, teacher, musician, *Nation* friend. In 1980 he made the film *The Trials of Alger Hiss*, and he championed Hiss until the end. In June, dying of cancer, Lowenthal testified in a London libel suit brought by Alexander Vassiliev, a former KGB agent and author, with Allen Weinstein, of *The Haunted Wood*. Lowenthal wrote an article in the journal *Intelligence and National Security* disputing Vassiliev's claim that evidence in KGB files proved Hiss was a Soviet spy, code-named "Ales." Vassiliev sued the publisher of *Intelligence and National Security*, claiming he was libeled in Lowenthal's article. After hearing Lowenthal's testimony, a London jury found his criticisms not libelous and found for the defendant.

NATION NOTES

■ Two *Nation* articles have been chosen for Project Censored's Top 25 Censored New Stories of 2002–2003. They are: "Afghanistan Imperiled" by Ahmed Rashid (October 14, 2002) and "An Uneasy Peace" by Jan Goodwin (April 29, 2002).

NEWS OF THE WEAK IN REVIEW

■ When the Senate Finance Committee was in the process of voting down an amendment that would have added $11.25 billion for childcare to welfare reform over the next five years, Senator Rick Santorum argued that the government shouldn't coddle welfare mothers. "Making people struggle a little bit is not necessarily the worst thing," he said. Maybe Santorum should tell that to the Pentagon.

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Alan Dershowitz, Plagiarist

Let's start with a passage from Alan Dershowitz's latest book, *The Case for Israel*, now slithering into the upper tier of Amazon's sales charts. On page 213 we meet Dershowitz, occupant of the Felix Frankfurter Chair at Harvard Law School, happily walloping a French prof called Faurisson, charged by the FF prof from Harvard U as being a fraud and a Holocaust denier: "There was no extensive historical research. Instead, there was the fraudulent manufacturing of false antihistory. It was the kind of deception for which professors are rightly fired—not because their views are controversial but because they are violating the most basic canons of historical scholarship."

Let me now usher into the narrative an important member of the cast: *From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict Over Palestine*, a 601-page book by Joan Peters, published in 1984. Peters's polemical work strove to buttress the old Zionist thesis that the land of Israel had been "a land without people, awaiting a people without land." Peters's book was soon discredited as a charnel house of disingenuous polemic. The *coup de grâce* was administered by Professor Yehoshua Porath in *The New York Review of Books* for January 16 and March 27, 1986.

Though neither Peters nor her book appears in the index to *The Case for Israel*, they both get a mention in note 31 of chapter 2, where Dershowitz cites the work of a nineteenth-century French geographer called Cuinct [*sic*], and adds, "See Joan Peters, *From Time Immemorial* (Chicago: JKAP Publications, 1984). Peters's conclusions and data have been challenged. See Said and Hitchens, p. 33. I do not in any way rely on them in this book." "Them" clearly refers to Peters's conclusions and data.

This brazen declaration is preceded in chapters 1 and 2 by repeated, unacknowledged looting of Peters's research. I have before me a devastating comparative archive of these plagiarisms, compiled by Norman Finkelstein, author of *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering* and *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict*. Here are but four from twenty thus far discovered in the first two chapters alone.

"In the sixteenth century," the learned Dershowitz remarks on the seventeenth page of his book, "according to British reports, 'as many as 15,000 Jews' lived in Safad, which was a 'center of rabbinical learning.'" Source cited by Dershowitz: Palestine Royal Commission Report, pp. 11–12. Turn now to page 178 of Peters's book, published nineteen years earlier: "Safed at that time, according to the British investigation by Lord Peel's committee, 'contained as many as 15,000 Jews in the 16th century,' and was 'a centre of Rabbinical learning.'" Source cited by Peters: Palestine Royal Commission Report, pp. 11–12. Originality displayed by Dershowitz: downgrading "Rabbinical" to a lower-case r.

Same page of Dershowitz: "[A]ccording to the British consul in Jerusalem, the Muslims of Jerusalem 'scarcely exceed[ed] one quarter of the whole population.'" Source cited: James Finn to Earl of Clarendon, January 1, 1858. Peters (p. 197): "In 1858 Consul Finn reported the 'Mohammedans of Jerusalem' were 'scarcely exceeding one-quarter of the whole population.'" Source cited: James Finn to Earl of Clarendon, January 1, 1858.

Dershowitz (p. 20): "Nor could the Jew seek redress, as the report observed: 'Like the miserable dog without an owner he is kicked by one because he crosses his path, and cuffed by another because he cries out—to seek redress he is afraid, lest it bring worse upon him; he thinks it better to endure than to live in the expectation of his complaint being revenged upon him.'" Source cited: Wm. T. Young to Viscount Palmerston, May 25, 1839. Peters (p. 187): "[T]he life for Jews described in 1839 by British Consul Young: '[...] Like the miserable dog without an owner he is kicked by one because he crosses his path, and cuffed by another because he cries out—to seek redress he is afraid, lest it bring worse upon him; he thinks it better to endure than to live in the expectation of his complaint being revenged upon him.'" Source cited: Wm. T. Young to Viscount Palmerston, May 25, 1839.

Dershowitz (p. 27): "J.L. Burkhardt [*sic*] reported that as early as in the second decade of the nineteenth century, 'Few individuals...die in the same village in which they were born. Families are continually moving from one place to another...in a few years...they fly to some other place, where they have heard that their brethren are better treated.'" Source cited: John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (New York: AMS Press, 1983), p. 299. Peters (p. 163): "John Lewis Burckhardt graphically described the migratory patterns he found in the early 1800s: '[...]Few individuals...die in the same village in which they were born. Families are continually moving from one place to another[...]in a few years[...]they fly to some other place, where they have heard that their brethren are better treated.'" Source cited: John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London: 1882), p. 299.

For those who, on the monkeys-writing-Shakespeare analogy, may speculate that Dershowitz somehow replicated Peters's researches unknowingly, I should add that in two very long passages, one from a letter from Wm. T. Young to Col. Patrick Campbell (May 25, 1839), and the other from Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad*, Dershowitz reproduces the quotes with ellipses in exactly the same places as Peters.

Amid this orgy of plagiarism, Dershowitz understandably gets confused about sources. Claiming to be inspired by George Orwell, Peters in her book coined the term "turnspeak" to signal an inversion of reality. Dershowitz is apparently so nervous of citing Peters in any way that he credits the term "turnspeak" to Orwell, accusing critics of Israel of "deliberately using George Orwell's 'turnspeak.'"

Over to Harvard president Lawrence Summers—or will the man so happy to dress down Prof. Cornel West be more timid when it comes to confronting the occupant of the Felix Frankfurter Chair? All you have to do is remind him of Dershowitz's words about Prof. Faurisson. ■

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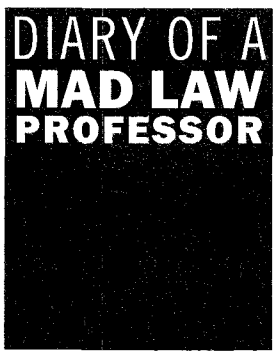
PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

State of Denial



We live in interesting times. These days we can all pretty much acknowledge that race does not exist as a scientific construct; these days, we can all agree that racism is wrong. It breaks down pretty much after that. For example, I think *Southern Partisan*, the neo-Confederate magazine John Ashcroft praised as "set[ting] the record straight" in its defense of "Southern patriots," subscribes to racist ideas. But Christopher Sullivan, its editor in chief, would beg to disagree: "A racist is someone who fire-bombs churches or who hates people of a different race or thinks that a person of a different race shouldn't have the same rights that they do." Supremacist ideas, according to Sullivan, are not necessarily racist because they are not always premised on hate. Thus, he is not, repeat, not, a racist when he muses: "Could somebody love a person of another race and still think that they were inferior? Yes, I think so."

Clearly, acknowledging there's no biological basis for race is not the same as saying it has no force in the world. Acknowledging that we do not pop out of the womb with our religion, or national identity, or political ideology inscribed on our foreheads is not to say that belief about others or ideology about color doesn't matter.

Yet nationally, the momentum for addressing these historical problems is on the wane. In my last column I wrote of my concern about Proposition 54, on California's recall ballot, which would prohibit the gathering of statistics regarding race, color, ethnicity and national origin. Police investigations and publicly funded medical experimentation would be the notable exceptions. This sweeping suppression of all mention of such categorization would make it virtually impossible to monitor profiling in police departments, in housing rentals and sales, in lending and banking practices, in public schools and hospitals or to fully comprehend the implications of environmental disasters or pollution. Yet again, if the one goal that most of us can agree upon is the elimination of prejudice, why is the attempt to measure any gap contested so bitterly? Why this proposed muzzling of the messenger?

There's a very good new book just out from the University of California Press that addresses the growing national tendency to minimize, ignore or outright deny the racial problems that still divide us. *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society* is a definitive treatise written by Michael K. Brown, Martin Carnoy, Elliott Currie, Troy Duster, David B. Oppenheimer, Marjorie Shultz and David Wellman. It is an extraordinarily in-depth study conducted by two sociologists, two lawyers, a political scientist, an economist and a criminologist. The book is not just edited but actually written by all seven; it is not a collection of essays, but a collaborative project that required "speaking through and across all kinds of disciplinary boundaries," according to Shultz. "We did not start with the same opinions about anything. It took us years of comparing data and methodologies to distill what we could all agree was a fair picture of what is at stake."

The focus of the book's examination is what they call the "new national consensus" about the success of the civil rights movement. They test the narrative, advanced by conservatives from Abigail and Stephen Thernstrom to Dinesh D'Souza, maintaining, in essence, that the civil rights movement was successful—and is over; that any remaining racial disparities are caused largely by those who are not sufficiently motivated to take advantage of the opportunities before them and that neither public policy nor law has any further role to play in leveling the playing field.

The new narrative relies on polls establishing that most Americans firmly deny being "racist." But *Whitewashing Race* compares those polls with actual behavior and concludes: "People who do not show up as bigots in attitude surveys sometimes behave like bigots." If studies show a majority of white Americans feel that African-Americans have a right to live anywhere they wish, they also reveal whites expressing strong preferences for residing in neighborhoods with as few black people as possible and blacks expressing strong preferences for integrated neighborhoods. The book is filled with data documenting the same attitudinal dissonance in the job market and education, in health policy, voting rights and criminal justice. Over and over, this great paradox: always the repeated expressions of belief in the ideal of equality—just not in my backyard.

Part of the tension has to do with what Brown et al. document as "changes in the character of racism." Public debate has shifted away from analyzing the institutional practices of banks, factories, fire and police departments, realtors and schools. "Today…racism is expressed in the language of American individualism," they write, quoting from Donald Kindler and Lynn Sanders's book *Divided by Color*. Race isn't the problem, according to this brand of pseudolibertarianism—if certain segments of society haven't succeeded it's because of lifestyle issues, personal initiative, bad choice and an unpleasant degree of whining.

It is good news that most of us Americans embrace racial equality. But for those people of good will who nevertheless plan to vote for Proposition 54, I do wonder: Do you really believe the disparities that divide us today are entirely the product of minorities' choosing residential segregation, choosing to exclude whites from their schools and choosing unemployment? Do you believe complaints about police profiling based on skin color reflect a genuine problem—or do you see it as wholly the mouthing off of dissolute criminal elements? If there is room in your understanding for the possibility of racism's continued existence, is there no role for public remedy? Finally, if racial and ethnic data may be collected by law-enforcement and medical experimenters, oughtn't there to be just a little oversight of that process? And if the oversight process is prohibited from mentioning race, color or ethnicity or from analyzing any such data, just how should such monitoring proceed? ■

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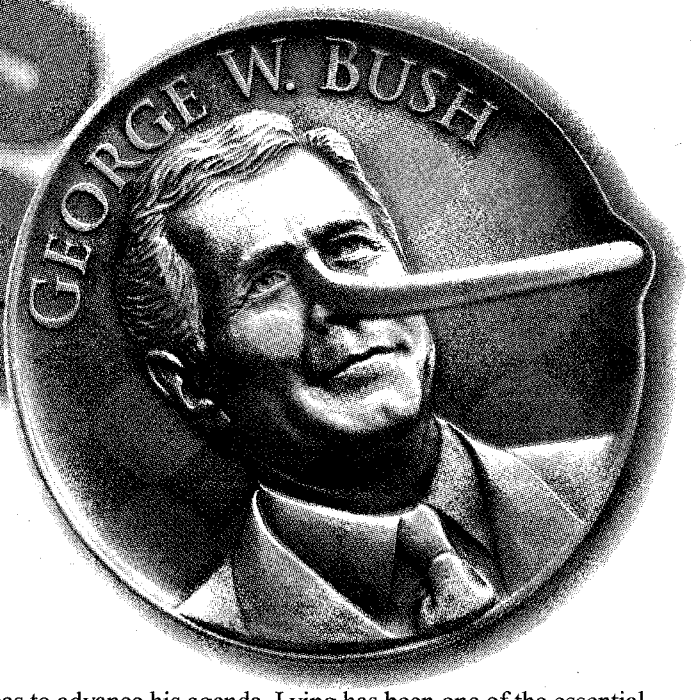
ARTICLES

BUSH'S OTHER LIES



BY DAVID CORN

George W. Bush is a liar. He has lied large and small, directly and by omission. His Iraq lies have loomed largest. In the run-up to the invasion, Bush based his case for war on a variety of unfounded claims that extended far beyond his controversial uranium-from-Niger assertion. He maintained that Saddam Hussein possessed "a massive stockpile" of unconventional weapons and was directly "dealing" with Al Qaeda—two suppositions unsupported then (or now) by the available evidence. He said the International Atomic Energy Agency had produced a report in 1998 noting that Iraq was six months from developing a nuclear weapon; no such report existed (and the IAEA had actually reported then that there was no indication Iraq had the ability to produce weapons-grade material). Bush asserted that Iraq was "harboring a terrorist network, headed by a senior Al Qaeda terrorist planner"; US intelligence officials told reporters this terrorist was operating ouside of Al Qaeda control. And two days before launching the war, Bush said, "Intelligence gathered by this and other governments leaves no doubt that the Iraq regime continues to possess and conceal some of the most lethal weapons ever devised." Yet former deputy CIA director Richard Kerr, who is conducting a review of the prewar intelligence, has said that intelligence was full of qualifiers and caveats, and based on circumstantial and inferential evidence. That is, it was not no-doubt stuff. And after the major fighting was done, Bush declared, "We found the weapons of mass destruction." But he could only point to two tractor-trailers that the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency had concluded were mobile bioweapons labs. Other experts—including the DIA's own engineering experts—disagreed with this finding.

But Bush's truth-defying crusade for war did not mark a shift for him. Throughout his campaign for the presidency and his years in the White House, Bush has mugged the truth in many other areas to advance his agenda. Lying has been one of the essential tools of his presidency. To call the forty-third President of the United States a prevaricator is not an exercise of opinion, not an inflammatory talk-radio device. Rather, it is backed up by an all-too-extensive record of self-serving falsifications. While politicians are often derided as liars, this charge should be particularly stinging for Bush. During the campaign of 2000, he pitched himself as a candidate who could "restore" honor and integrity to an Oval Office stained by the misdeeds and falsehoods of his predecessor. To brand Bush a liar is to negate what he and his supporters declared was his most basic and most important qualification for the job.

His claims about the war in Iraq have led more of his foes and more pundits to accuse him of lying to the public. The list of his misrepresentations, though, is far longer than the lengthy list of dubious statements Bush employed—and keeps on employing—to justify his invasion and occupation of Iraq. Here then is a partial—a quite partial—account of the other lies of George W. Bush.

Tax Cuts

Bush's crusade for tax cuts is the domestic policy matter that has spawned the most misrepresentations from his camp. On the 2000 campaign trail, he sold his success as a "tax-cutting person" by hailing cuts he passed in Texas while governor. But Bush did not tell the full story of his 1997 tax plan. His proposal called for cutting property taxes. But what he didn't mention is that it also included an attempt to boost the sales tax and to implement a new business tax. Nor did he note that his full package had not been accepted by the state legislature. Instead, the lawmakers passed a $1 billion reduction in property taxes. And these tax cuts turned out to be a sham. After they kicked in,

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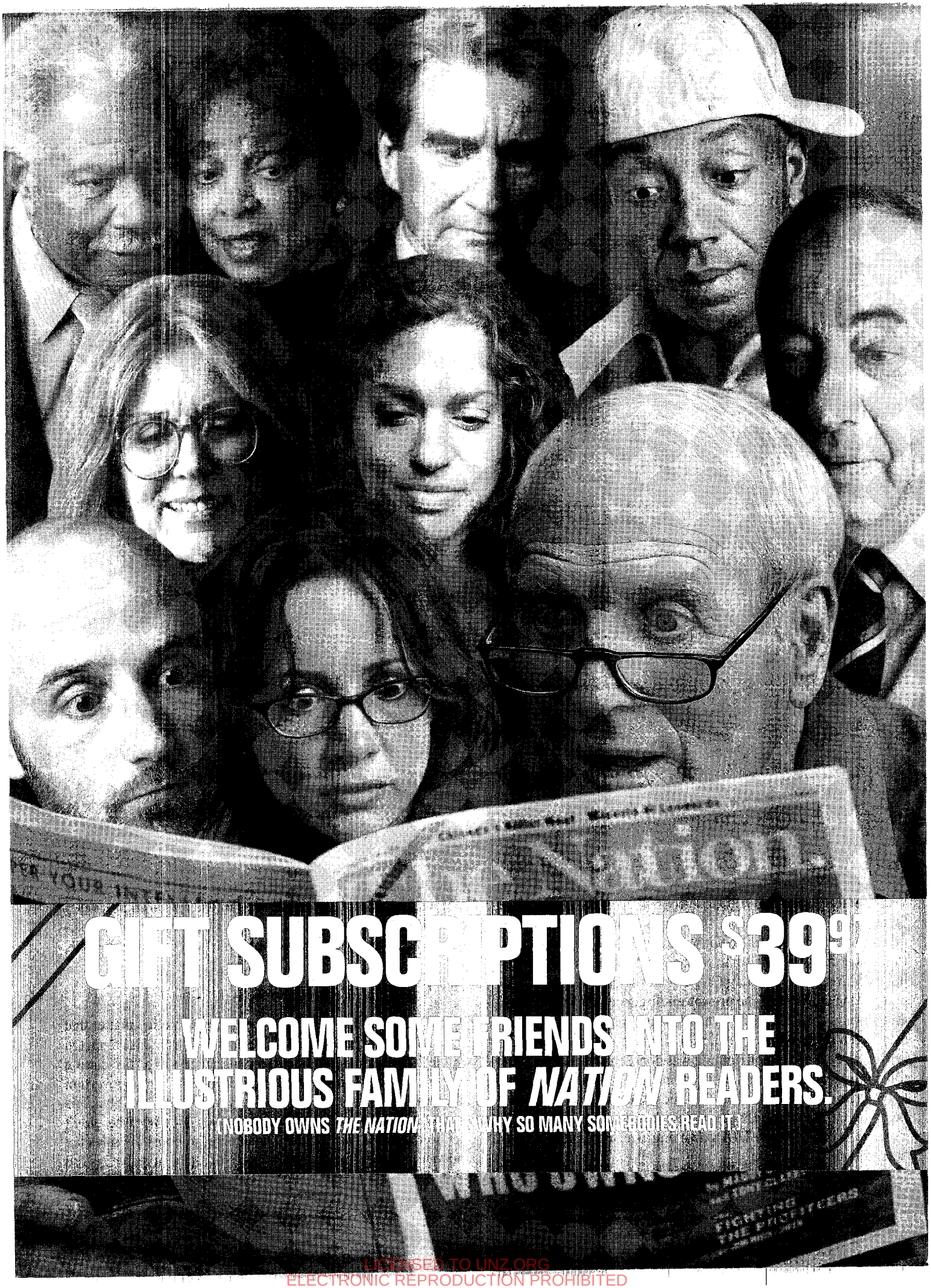
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school districts across the state boosted local tax rates to compensate for the loss of revenue. A 1999 *Dallas Morning News* analysis found that "many [taxpayers] are still paying as much as they did in 1997, or more." Republican Lieutenant Governor Rick Perry called the cuts "rather illusory."

One of Bush's biggest tax-cut whoppers came when he stated, during the presidential campaign, "The vast majority of my [proposed] tax cuts go to the bottom end of the spectrum." That estimate was wildly at odds with analyses of where the money would really go. A report by Citizens for Tax Justice, a liberal outfit that specializes in distribution analysis, figured that 42.6 percent of Bush's $1.6 trillion tax package would end up in the pockets of the top 1 percent of earners. The lowest 60 percent would net 12.6 percent. The *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, ABC News and NBC News all reported that Bush's package produced the results CTJ calculated.

Bush claimed his tax plan would 'keep family farms in the family' but didn't offer a single case of a family losing a farm to estate taxes.

To deal with the criticism that his plan was a boon for millionaires, Bush devised an imaginary friend—a mythical single waitress who was supporting two children on an income of $22,000, and he talked about her often. He said he wanted to remove the tax-code barriers that kept this waitress from reaching the middle class, and he insisted that if his tax cuts were passed, "she will pay no income taxes at all." But when *Time* asked the accounting firm of Deloitte & Touche to analyze precisely how Bush's waitress-mom would be affected by his tax package, the firm reported that she would not see any benefit because she already had no income-tax liability.

As he sold his tax cuts from the White House, Bush maintained in 2001 that with his plan, "the greatest percentage of tax relief goes to the people at the bottom end of the ladder." This was trickery—technically true only because low-income earners pay so little income tax to begin with. As the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities put it, "a two-parent family of four with income of $26,000 would indeed have its income taxes eliminated under the Bush plan, which is being portrayed as a 100 percent reduction in taxes." But here was the punch line: The family owed only $20 in income taxes under the existing law. Its overall tax bill (including payroll and excise taxes), though, was $2,500. So that twenty bucks represented less than 1 percent of its tax burden. Bush's "greatest percentage" line was meaningless in the real world, where people paid their bills with money, not percentages.

Bush also claimed his tax plan—by eliminating the estate tax, at a cost of $300 billion—would "keep family farms in the family." But, as the *New York Times* reported, farm-industry experts could not point to a single case of a family losing a farm because of estate taxes. Asked about this, White House press secretary Ari Fleischer said, "If you abolish the death tax, people won't have to hire all those planners to help them keep the land that's rightfully theirs." Caught in a $300 billion lie, the White House was now saying the reason to abolish the tax—a move that would be a blessing to the richest 2 percent of Americans—was to spare farmers the pain in the ass of estate planning. Bush's lies did not hinder him. They helped him win the first tax-cut fight—and, then, the tax-cut battle of 2003. When his second set of supersized tax cuts was assailed for being tilted toward the rich, he claimed, "Ninety-two million Americans will keep an average of $1,083 more of their own money." The Tax Policy Center of the Brookings Institution and the Urban Institute found that, contrary to Bush's assertion, nearly 80 percent of tax filers would receive less than $1,083, and almost half would pocket less than $100. The truly average taxpayers—those in the middle of the income range—would receive $265. Bush was using the word "average" in a flimflam fashion. To concoct the misleading $1,083 figure, the Administration took the large dollar amounts high-income taxpayers would receive and added that to the modest, small or nonexistent reductions other taxpayers would get—and then used this total to calculate an average gain. His claim was akin to saying that if a street had nine households led by unemployed individuals but one with an earner making a million dollars, the average income of the families on the block would be $100,000. The radical *Wall Street Journal* reported, "Overall, the gains from the taxes are weighted toward upper-income taxpayers."

The Environment

One of Bush's first PR slip-ups as President came when his EPA announced that it would withdraw a new standard for arsenic in drinking water that had been developed during the Clinton years. Bush defended this move by claiming that the new standard had been irresponsibly rushed through: "At the very last minute my predecessor made a decision, and we pulled back his decision so that we can make a decision based upon sound science and what's realistic." And his EPA administrator, Christine Todd Whitman, said the standard had not been based on the "best available science." This was a harsh charge. And untrue.

The new arsenic standard was no quickie job unattached to reasonable scientific findings. The EPA had worked for a decade on establishing the new, 10-parts-per-billion standard. Congress had directed the agency to establish a new standard, and it had authorized $2.5 million a year for studies from 1997 through 2000. A 1999 study by the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) had concluded that the existing 50-ppb standard "could easily" result in a 1-in-100 cancer risk and had recommended that acceptable levels be lowered "as promptly as possible." EPA policy-makers had thought that a 3-ppb standard would have been justified by the science, yet they took cost considerations into account and went for the less stringent 10 ppb.

Bush's arsenic move appeared to have been based upon a political calculation—even though Bush, as a candidate, had said he would not decide key policy matters on the basis of politics. But in his book *The Right Man*, David Frum, a former Bush economic speechwriter, reported that Karl Rove, Bush's chief political adviser, had "pressed for reversal" of the arsenic standard in an attempt to win votes in New Mexico, one of a few states that have high naturally occurring levels of arsenic and that would face higher costs in meeting the new standard.

David Corn, Washington editor of The Nation, *is the author of* The Lies of George W. Bush: Mastering the Politics of Deception *(Crown). For information on the book, see www.bushlies.com.*

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Several months after the EPA suspended the standard, a new NAS study concluded that the 10-ppb standard was indeed scientifically justified and possibly not tight enough. After that, the Administration decided that the original 10 ppb was exactly the right level for a workable rule, even though the latest in "best available science" now suggested that the 10-ppb level might not adequately safeguard water drinkers.

The arsenic screw-up was one of the few lies for which Bush took a hit. On the matter of global warming, he managed to lie his way through a controversy more deftly. Months into his presidency, Bush declared that he was opposed to the Kyoto Protocol, the 1997 global warming accord. To defend his retreat from the treaty, he cited "the incomplete state of scientific knowledge." This was a misleading argument, for the scientific consensus was rather firm. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), an international body of thousands of scientists assembled by the UN and the World Meteorological Organization, held that global temperatures were dramatically on the rise and that this increase was, to an unspecified degree, a result of human-induced emissions.

In early June 2001 the NAS released a report Bush had requested, and it concluded global warming was under way and "most likely due to human activities." Rather than accept the analysis it had commissioned, the Bush White House countered with duplicity. Press secretary Fleischer maintained that the report "concludes that the Earth is warming. But it is inconclusive on why—whether it's man-made causes or whether it's natural causes." That was not spinning. That was prevaricating. The study blamed "human activities" while noting that "natural variability" might be a contributing factor too.

Bush pledged to 'learn every lesson' of September 11. But he wouldn't declassify portions of a report discussing hijacker-Saudi connections.

Still, the Bush White House wanted to make it seem as if Bush did take the issue seriously. So on June 11, he delivered a speech on global warming and pledged to craft an alternative to Kyoto that would "reduce" emissions. The following February he unveiled his plan. "Our immediate goal," Bush said, "is to reduce America's greenhouse-gas emissions relative to the size of our economy."

Relative to the size of our economy? This was a ruse. Since the US economy is generally growing, this meant emissions could continue to rise, as long as the rate of increase was below the rate of economic growth. The other industrialized nations, with the Kyoto accord, were calling for reductions below 1990 levels. Bush was pushing for slower increases above 2000 levels. Bush's promise to lower emissions had turned out to be no more than hot air.

September 11

As many Americans and others yearned to make sense of the evil attacks of September 11, Bush elected to share with the public a deceptively simplistic explanation of this catastrophe. Repeatedly, he said that the United States had been struck because of its love of freedom. "America was targeted for attack," he maintained, "because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world." This was shallow analysis, a comic-book interpretation of the event that covered up complexities and denied Americans information crucial for developing a full understanding of the attacks. In the view Bush furnished, Osama bin Laden was a would-be conqueror of the world, a man motivated solely by irrational evil, who killed for the purpose of destroying freedom.

But as the State Department's own terrorism experts—as well as nongovernment experts—noted, bin Laden was motivated by a specific geostrategic and theological aim: to chase the United States out of the Middle East in order to ease the way for a fundamentalist takeover of the region. Peter Bergen, a former CNN producer and the first journalist to arrange a television interview with bin Laden, observes in his book *Holy War, Inc.*, "What [bin Laden] condemns the United States for is simple: its policies in the Middle East." Rather than acknowledge the realities of bin Laden's war on America, Bush attempted to create and perpetuate a war-on-freedom myth.

In the aftermath of 9/11, Bush was disingenuous on other fronts. Days after the attack, he asserted, "No one could have conceivably imagined suicide bombers burrowing into our society and then emerging all in the same day to fly their aircraft—fly US aircraft—into buildings full of innocent people." His aides echoed this sentiment for months. They were wrong. Such a scenario had been imagined and feared by terrorism experts. And plots of this sort had previously been uncovered and thwarted by security services in other nations—in operations known to US officials. According to the 9/11 inquiry conducted by the House and Senate intelligence committees, the US intelligence establishment had received numerous reports that bin Laden and other terrorists were interested in mounting 9/11-like strikes against the United States.

Fourteen months after the attack, Bush said, "We must uncover every detail and learn every lesson of September the 11th." But his actions belied this rhetoric. His White House refused to turn over information to the intelligence committees about a pre-9/11 intelligence briefing he had had seen, and the Bush Administration would not allow the committees to tell the public what intelligence warnings Bush had received before September 11. More famously, Bush would not declassify the twenty-seven-page portion of the committees' final report that concerned connections between the 9/11 hijackers and Saudi Arabia. And following September 11, Bush repeatedly maintained that his Administration was doing everything possible to secure the nation. But that was not true. The Administration did not move—and has not moved—quickly to address gaping security concerns, including vulnerabilities at chemical plants and ports and a huge shortfall in resources for first responders [see Corn, "Homeland Insecurity," September 22].

It did not start with Iraq. Bush has been lying throughout the presidency. He claimed he had not gotten to know disgraced Enron chief Ken Lay until after the 1994 Texas gubernatorial election. But Lay had been one of Bush's larger contributors during that election and had—according to Lay himself—been friends with Bush for years before it. In June 2001, Bush said, "We're not going to deploy a [missile defense] system that

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doesn't work." But then he ordered the deployment of a system that was not yet operational. (A June 2003 General Accounting Office study noted, "Testing to date has provided only limited data for determining whether the system will work as intended.") His White House claimed that it was necessary to drill for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to "secure America's energy needs." But the US Geological Survey noted that the amount of oil that might be found there would cover up to slightly more than two years' worth of oil consumption. Such a supply would hardly "secure" the nation's needs.

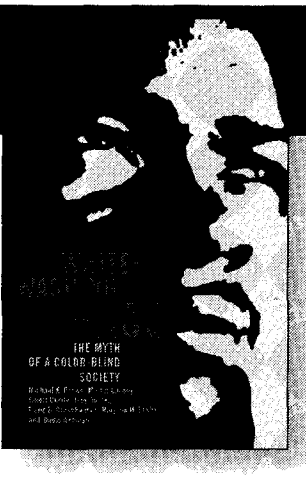
Speaking for his boss, Fleischer in 2002 said, "the President does, of course, believe that younger workers...are going to receive no money for their Social Security taxes." No money? That was not so. A projected crunch will hit in four decades or so. But even when this happens, the system will be able to pay an estimated 70 percent of benefits—which is somewhat more than "no money." When Bush in August 2001 announced he would permit federal funding of stem-cell research only for projects that used existing stem-cell lines—in a move to placate social conservatives, who opposed this sort of research—he said that there were sixty existing lines, and he asserted that his decision "allows us to explore the promise and potential of stem-cell research." Yet at the time—according to scientific experts in the field and various media reports—there were closer to ten available lines, not nearly enough to support a promising research effort.

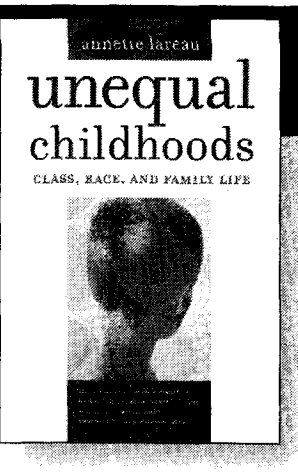
Does Bush believe his own untruths? Did he truly consider a WMD-loaded Saddam Hussein an imminent threat to the United States? Or was he knowingly employing dramatic license because he wanted war for other reasons? Did he really think the average middle-class taxpayer would receive $1,083 from his second tax-cut plan? Or did he realize this was a fuzzy number cooked up to make the package seem a better deal than it was for middle- and low-income workers? Did he believe there were enough stem-cell lines to support robust research? Or did he know he had exaggerated the number of lines in order to avoid a politically tough decision?

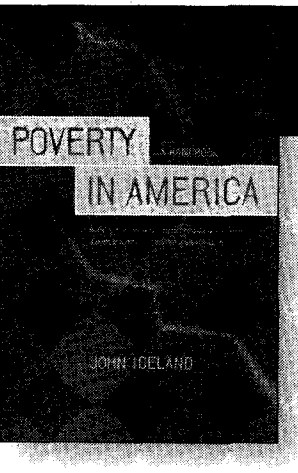
It's hard to tell. Bush's public statements do suggest he is a binary thinker who views the world in black-and-white terms. You're either for freedom or against it. With the United States or not. Tax cuts are good—always. The more tax cuts the better—always. He's impatient with nuances. Asked in 1999 to name something he wasn't good at, Bush replied, "Sitting down and reading a 500-page book on public policy or philosophy or something." Bush likes life to be clear-cut. And perhaps that causes him to either bend the truth or see (and promote) a bent version of reality. Observers can debate whether Bush considers his embellishments and misrepresentations to be the honest-to-God truth or whether he cynically hurls falsehoods to con the public. But believer or deceiver—the result is the same.

With his misrepresentations and false assertions, Bush has dramatically changed the nation and the world. Relying on deceptions, he turned the United States into an occupying power. Using lies, he pushed through tax cuts that will profoundly reshape the US budget for years to come, most likely insuring a long stretch of deficits that will make it difficult, perhaps

ON RACE, CLASS, & POVERTY







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impossible, for the federal government to fund existing programs or contemplate new ones.

Does Bush lie more than his predecessors, more than his political opponents? That's irrelevant. He's guiding the nation during difficult and perhaps perilous times, in which a credible President is much in need. Prosperity or economic decline? War or peace? Security or fear? This country has a lot to deal with. Lies from the White House poison the debates that must occur if Americans are going to confront and overcome the challenges of this century at home and abroad.

Presidential lying, in fact, threatens the country. To render informed and wise choices about the crucial and complicated controversies of the day, people need truthful information. The President is generally in a position to define and dominate a debate more than other political players. And a lie from the White House—or a fib or a misrepresentation or a fudged number—can go a long way toward distorting the national discussion.

Bush campaigned for the presidency as the fellow who would bring honesty back to the White House. During his first full day on the job, while swearing in his White House staff, he reminded his cadre, "On a mantelpiece in this great house is inscribed the prayer of John Adams, that only the wise and honest may rule under this roof." But Adams's prayer would once more go unanswered. There has been no restoration of integrity. Bush's promise was a lie. The future of the United States remains in the hands of a dishonest man. ■

Letter From Iran

by Afshin Molavi

Tehran

The hard-line Islamic vigilantes circled us. Wearing their trademark beards, untucked long-sleeve shirts and green headbands, they chanted progovernment slogans, occasionally crying out "Allah Akbar" (God is Great) or "Death to the foreign mercenaries," as they circled and scowled.

Our unaffiliated group, standing near a shuttered corner market in Tehran University just after 8 PM on July 9, shuffled nervously. Most had come to see what might happen on this night—the highly anticipated fourth anniversary of Iran's prodemocracy student protests, which rocked the country. Few were political activists, students or organized protesters, let alone "foreign mercenaries"; they were housewives, middle-class professionals, a few students, some disaffected, unemployed young men and an elderly couple that I instinctively wanted to protect.

The "vigilantes," as they are commonly called by the Western media, are affiliated, paid for and organized by hard-liners in Iran's government, which makes them more accurately "thugs for hire." Members of the group, known as Ansar-e Hezbollah, have committed some of the most violent acts against student protesters in the past four years. In one instance, they entered a student dormitory brandishing clubs and lashing students with chains. In another, they threw a student out a window to his death. They have also been linked to the killings of some eighty dissidents and writers, dating back to 1988.

The Ansar-e Hezbollah, though a small part of the vast security apparatus controlled by Iran's conservative ruling clergy, play an increasingly important role: intimidating protesters, thinning crowds, carrying out mafia-style "hits" (like the 2000 assassination attempt on reformist strategist Said Hajjarian by an Ansar leader) and delivering harsh reminders of who is in control. In fact, crowd control and "dissent management," as one Iranian official put it, has become an increasingly important part of statecraft in today's Islamic Republic as Iranians, seething with a wide range of economic, political and social discontents, erupt in protest with some regularity.

As I watched the government's display of force playing out before my eyes that evening—including helicopters circling overhead, elite units of antiriot police standing ready, and plainclothes Intelligence Ministry agents buzzing around on motorbikes, I remembered what Morad Saghafi, a leading Iranian prodemocracy intellectual, told me: "Politics is dying. Now, everything comes down to force."

The crowd of some 5,000 to 10,000 residents who made it to the university area was largely leaderless, frustrated and afraid. "I came to see what might happen, to see what the students will do," Mohsen, a middle-aged engineer told me. "I've lost hope in the politics of reform." He added, "They can't get anything done," echoing widely heard sentiments as the country's reformist movement withers under a conservative assault. Laleh, a 33-year-old housewife, said: "I'm not sure what will happen tonight. I am hoping for something big. I'm waiting for the students, but I find all of this intimidating."

Neither Mohsen nor Laleh had heard that the planned student protests had been canceled for fear of a harsh crackdown. They didn't know that earlier in the day, three prodemocracy student leaders had been detained at gunpoint by plainclothes security officers and shoved into cars in full view of the press. They knew nothing of the letter the student group had written to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, seeking assistance in their struggle for freedom. Mohsen said the signal of the Los Angeles–based opposition satellite stations—an increasingly important, if erratic, news source for middle-class Iranians—had been successfully jammed by the authorities. The relatively vibrant reformist press had been muzzled through a series of gag orders by the hard-line judiciary.

When a bearded, squat, square-jawed hard-liner approached our group, swinging his stick in the air, Mohsen had seen enough.

Afshin Molavi, a freelance journalist, is the author of Persian Pilgrimages: Journeys Across Iran *(Norton).*

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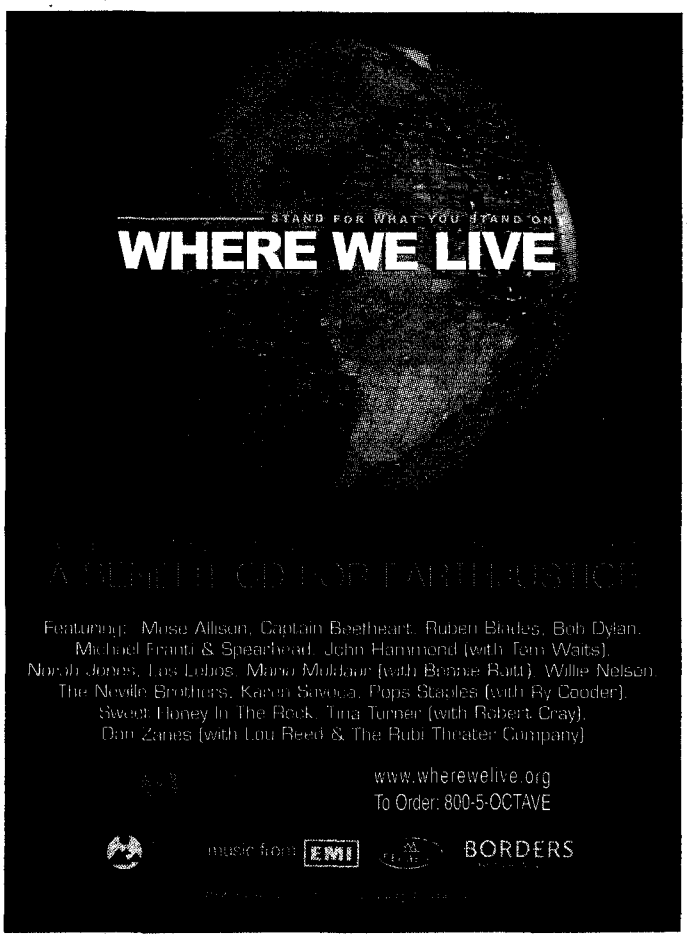
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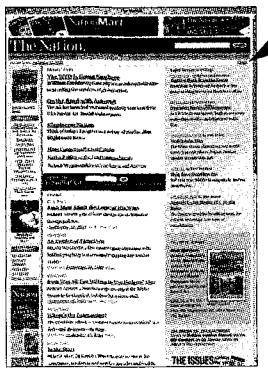

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"I'm getting out of here," he said. "This is not what I expected." Laleh and many others followed soon thereafter.

By midnight, the university area was empty. At an ice cream store in central Tehran, a young man, Ali, explained why he and most of his friends avoid protests. "They are too dangerous. You either end the night beaten up or in jail."

Iranians, frustrated by nearly twenty-four years of economic mismanagement and social and political repression, are eager for change. Reformist failures coupled with a stagnant economy, high unemployment and a seemingly unending and unexplainable rise in prices have left them embittered. These feelings cut across all socioeconomic lines, and even religious ones. In fact, some of the most pugnacious regime opponents are religious-minded young men from poor neighborhoods, many of whom flock to student protests, chanting slogans against the ruling clergy. Many say things like, "The clergy have abused Islam for their own gain." Others from those same poor neighborhoods, who are less religious, also flock to the protests, eager for a fight with what they call "the Hezbollahi kids from our neighborhood"—the hard-line youth who swell the ranks of groups like the Ansar-e Hezbollah or the Basij militia. Unlike affluent North Tehran youth, who fear the "Hezbollahi" types, South Tehran's disgruntled youth display far less fear and a willingness to confront them.

But it's not clear how the changes Iranians are seeking will come about. Not long ago the reformist movement, which burst onto the scene in 1997 with the presidential election victory of reform-minded cleric Mohammad Khatami, engendered great hope. Iranians embraced the movement with vigor, flocking to the newsstands to buy reformist papers that wrote breathlessly of democracy, freedom, civil society and limits on the power of the conservative ruling clergy. They swooned before reformist politicians, treating them with rock star–like adoration, especially Khatami, whose public appearances turned into mob scenes. Today, however, it is not uncommon to hear people chant for his resignation in public protests.

Meanwhile, over the past year, Iran's conservatives have used unelected power centers such as the hard-line judiciary, the office of Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei (who has virtual veto power over all matters of state) and the Guardian Council (an unelected body with "supervisory" responsibilities over Parliament), coupled with their control over security services, to veto key prodemocracy legislation in Parliament, jail leading dissidents and journalists with impunity, scrap presidential initiatives and intimidate protesters with violent crackdowns.

As a result, Iranians increasingly talk of "outside solutions." On many occasions, people expressed to me the hope that America would "do something." Just outside a government building a guard whispered, "Mr. Molavi, please tell the Americans to help us, to liberate us like they did the Iraqis and Afghans." Not an uncommon statement among frustrated middle-class Iranians, though when I probed further, I found that most Iranians feared an Iraq-style invasion. Instead, in traditionally Iranian conspiratorial fashion, they spoke of a *posht-e-pardeh* (literally, behind the curtain) solution, a covert action, so to speak, that would "liberate" them.

Though most Iranian intellectuals and elites vehemently oppose this idea, it is a measure of Iran's middle- and working-class desperation that more and more people in a proud, traditionally

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nationalist country with bitter memories of the last US *posht-e-pardeh* solution—the 1953 CIA-sponsored overthrow of nationalist Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadeq—would even entertain such thoughts, even if they might be dismissed as frustrated posturing or, as one Iranian journalist put it, "something people say in frustration, but will retract as soon as bombs begin to fall on Tehran or a coup goes awry."

When Baghdad fell and CNN images of celebrating Iraqis beamed across the world, Iran's rulers must have shuddered. After all, Washington had included them in its "axis of evil" and, flush with the pride of an Iraq "victory," Washington neoconservatives hinted that Iran could be next. Today, when the rulers of the Islamic Republic turn on CNN, they must breathe a sigh of relief. As the postwar Iraq situation descends into chaos, fewer Iranians talk of a US "liberation." And with a presidential election looming, the prospect of a US invasion of Iran is, in the words of one American official, "not on anyone's radar screen."

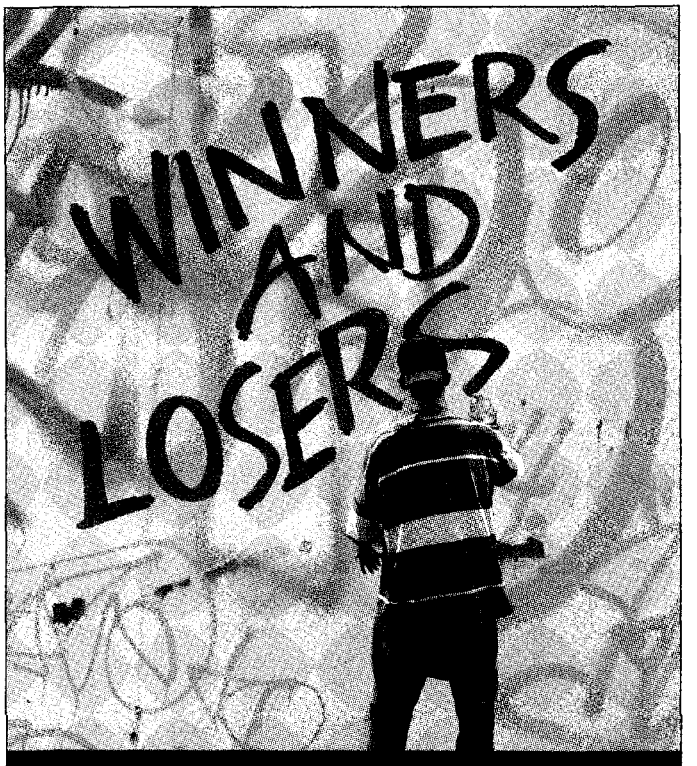
That "radar screen," however, includes one bleeping red dot: Iran's alleged nuclear weapons program. Washington and Tel Aviv fear Iranian acquisition of the bomb, which they say is proceeding at a brisk pace. Israel has made it clear that it will consider a strike on Iranian nuclear facilities if Tehran refuses to comply with a new, more aggressive round of International Atomic Energy Agency inspections.

Iranian officials, when asked about their nuke program, generally deflect the question, often asking ones of their own: "What about Israel's nuclear weapons? And India's? And Pakistan's?" Iranian Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi regularly argues that Iran would like to make the Middle East a nuclear-free zone—as long as Israel joins them. Still, Iranian analysts I spoke with often brought up the contrasting cases of North Korea and Iraq, noting that the lesson learned in Tehran is: Get nukes, avoid an invasion.

With the "outside solution" prospect dimming and the Iranian economy stagnating, talk of a strongman solution is emerging. Reza Shah, the first Pahlavi king, an ironfisted modernizer widely credited with laying the foundations for the creation of a large Iranian middle class, has enjoyed something of a renaissance among Iranians. Books about the former king and, indeed, about the Pahlavi dynasty sell briskly. Iranians prefer to remember his economic modernization, not his political repression.

In fact, Iran's conservatives, many analysts say, like the strongman idea and have studied closely the "China model"—political repression coupled with cultural and economic liberalization. Give Iranians jobs and more social freedoms, bolstering the middle class, the argument goes, and much of the dissent will vanish. Iran's conservatives have already displayed limited aspects of the China model: They have begun reaching out to foreign investors and have allowed limited cultural openings in cinema, the arts and even pop music, and the harassment of women for "dress-code violations" is also dramatically down.

But while it may be true that an Iranian version of the China model could forestall unrest, the strengthening of Iran's devastated middle class, weakened by twenty-four years of economic mismanagement, could sow the seeds for future revolt. After all, increasingly prosperous middle classes eventually seek a voice in their government—a lesson that the last Pahlavi king learned all too well.



A Debate on the Future of Globalization

Featuring:

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Deputy Editor of *The Economist*

Zanny Minton-Beddoes
Economics Correspondent for *The Economist*

William Greider
National Affairs Correspondent for *The Nation*

Lori Wallach
Director of Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch

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It was not supposed to come to this: a bitter populace, a tottering reform movement, ascendant conservatives toying with the China model, middle-class romanticizing of past dictator-kings. After all, Iran at the time of Khatami's election represented hope for the Middle East: a model of an indigenous democracy movement that emerged from below, from the ranks of former revolutionaries and Islamic intellectuals (and not a secular elite) who saw, in the end, that people did not want empty revolutionary slogans but a prosperous economy, social and political freedoms, and the dignity that comes with choosing your own destiny. Iran's reformists would gradually, in an evolutionary process, lead the way to democracy, the reasoning went. While secular democrats were still out of the game, they cheered on the reformists, hoping it would eventually create spaces for them. All of this was backed by overwhelming election victories.

But as with all reform movements that emerge from within ideological autocracies, they must contend with the crushing weight of the status quo, vested interests, the legacy of the revolution and, crucially, lack of access to the instruments of coercive force. When Iran's conservatives sensed trouble, they reminded Iranians who retains control.

In several conversations with leading reformists over the course of three weeks, I got a sense that the movement is like a disoriented prizefighter who has been knocked around for seven rounds and doesn't know whether he should go back out again. In one extraordinary moment of bare honesty, a well-regarded pro-democracy professor and confidant of embattled reformist President Mohammad Khatami said: "I just don't know what we can do. I am at loss."

Two conversations stuck with me from my three weeks in Iran. The first was with a religious intellectual named Ali Reza Alavitabar, a leading reformist newspaper publisher and academic, who faces an array of trumped-up charges against him for his outspoken prodemocracy views. He has served hard jail time, and stands to serve more. Formerly he was an anti-Shah revolutionary and Khomeini supporter who, like many of today's reformists, saw the need for change. He does not hail from Iran's modern middle class of technocrats and professionals, who are often Western-educated and secular, but rather from the traditional middle class of clerks, bazaar merchants and clergymen—key backers of the 1979 revolution. Today, he views the mingling of religion and politics with suspicion, and while he won't say so out loud, he and many others like him have morphed into secular democrats.

Alavitabar said he worries that the conservatives will become even more entrenched than they are already, as ordinary people give up on the possibility of peaceful change. The recent Tehran municipal elections offer a microcosm: Tehranis stayed away from the polls en masse, while the conservatives rallied their 20 percent base and won. "I understand that people are upset and frustrated," he continued. "But we should not retreat. We need to continue writing, speaking and possibly taking it to the next level: nonviolent civil disobedience. We are on the verge of something important here. It should not be stopped."

The other conversation, with a young man named Hamid, once a devoted follower of the reformists, reminded me of the deep angst felt by today's Iranian youth and, in the end, might offer a more realistic, if troubling, scenario for the future. "I have lost hope," Hamid said. "My friends have lost hope. We longer talk of changing Iran. Instead, we talk of leaving Iran." ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)
neering of these animals is well under way in laboratories around the world. People's consciences and health would be better served by eating vegetarian meals. KAREN DAVIS
United Poultry Concerns
www.upc-online.org

SHOP ONLINE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

Milton, Mass.

■ Andrew Boyd's "The Web Rewires the Movement" [Aug. 4/11] excellently surveyed progressive political organizing in cyberspace but overlooked the rising star of shopping online for peace and justice. Two websites, ShopForChange.com and HEARTof.com, turn online shopping into a source of funds for peace and justice activism. Both sites link to well-known online stores. Click on the Barnes & Noble link at either website, for example, and you cybertrip over to the regular BN.com site. Make a purchase, and ShopForChange or HEARTof.com earns a referral fee, from which they donate to peace and justice groups.

ShopForChange houses nine stores, to 275 stores at HEARTof.com. ShopForChange donates from 3 to 5 percent of purchase prices and averages about 4.3 percent, while HEARTof.com donates from 0.5 percent on some computer purchases, up to 40 percent on some magazine purchases and averages more than 6.4 percent. The sites allow shoppers different levels of control over which peace and justice groups receive contributions, with HEARTof.com allowing its shoppers more control. LAURIE GRAHAM

BUSH ❤ THE GOLDEN STATE?

Washington

■ Peter Schrag quotes a California Congressional staffer as saying my office has difficulty meeting with the Bush Administration ["Getting the Blues," Aug. 4/11]. Had he bothered to call my office, I would have explained that not only is that statement totally false but the Bush Administration knows that what's good for California is good for the country. The statement by the anonymous source that "they're not going to do a damn thing for us" is flat-out wrong.

The economic growth package signed by the President earlier this year was aimed at creating jobs and spurring growth across America. More than 10 million California taxpayers will benefit from this latest round of tax relief. California has received over $700 million to date in the war on terror for first responders, critical infrastructure protection, biological health and technology improvements. Earlier this year, the Interior Department respected California's decision to prohibit offshore oil drilling in coastal waters by supporting the current moratorium on new leasing offshore. And in my Congressional district alone, the federal government has provided $55 million to date to clean contaminants from groundwater. The facts about President Bush and California simply belie Schrag's one-sided piece. US REPRESENTATIVE DAVID DREIER
Chair, California Republican delegation

LINGUA PORCINA

Burlington, Vt.

■ Eric Alterman writes in his August 4/11 "Stop the Presses" column: "ix-nay on the evidence-nay." Are we supposed to trust columnists—not to mention editors—who can't write correct pig Latin? O-nay ay-way!
ERRY-JAY EINBERG-WAY
Ight-ray. E-way ould-shay ave-hay aid-say, "ix-nay on the evidence-hay (or -way)."
—E-they Editors-hay

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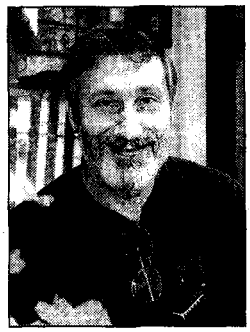
About the Ron Ridenhour Awards

The Ron Ridenhour Awards seek to discover, recognize and encourage those who persevere in acts of truth-telling that protect the public interest, advance or promote social justice, or illuminate a more just vision of society. These three $10,000 awards memorialize the spirit of fearless truth-telling that onetime whistle-blower and lifetime investigative journalist Ron Ridenhour reflected throughout his extraordinary life and career.



Ron Ridenhour

In 1969, Vietnam veteran Ron Ridenhour wrote a letter to Congress and the Pentagon describing the horrific events at My Lai — the infamous Vietnam War massacre — bringing the scandal to the attention of the American public and the world. Ridenhour later became a respected investigative journalist, and was published in *Time*, *Playboy* and *The New York Times Magazine*. He took on the nuclear industry, and his yearlong investigation of a New Orleans tax scandal won him the prestigious George Polk Award in 1987. He was honored by the Cavallo Foundation in 1996 with a Special Recognition Award for preventing the My Lai cover-up. Ron died unexpectedly in 1998.

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Daniel Ellsberg

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COMMENT

(Continued From Page 6)

(TIA) project, led a backlash in Congress that challenged the TSA's authority to create such a system. The Senate Appropriations Committee denied funding for the CAPPS II program pending a privacy-impact study from the General Accounting Office.

Meanwhile, thanks to a series of suits by the ACLU and the Electronic Privacy Information Center (EPIC), documents emerged showing that dozens of innocent passengers—including American Muslims, South Asians and senior citizens—were being harassed, detained and even strip-searched by National Guard, airport security and local law-enforcement officials because of a secret no-fly list, the existence of which the TSA had previously denied. TSA administrator James Loy repeatedly promised that CAPPS II would not move forward until all privacy concerns were addressed, and the Department of Homeland Security hired a chief privacy officer to make sure all programs measured up to existing privacy laws. At the end of July, the TSA made several concessions to critics, calling for a Passenger Advocate Office to assist passengers mistakenly flagged as high risk under the program.

But in mid-September, the furor reignited when a lone privacy advocate uncovered a disturbing document regarding New York–based JetBlue Airways, which has been in talks with the TSA to participate in testing the CAPPS II program. According to the document, JetBlue secretly provided 5 million passenger-name records, involving some 1.5 million passengers, to a Huntsville, Alabama–based defense contractor called Torch Concepts, which government officials say was participating in a military base security program for the Defense Department. One of Torch Concepts' vendors, Little Rock–based Acxiom Corporation, then used the JetBlue data to extrapolate Social Security numbers and other private information on almost half these customers, according to the document, which was a Torch Concepts presentation on passenger risk assessment. The TSA admitted that it helped facilitate the JetBlue relationship with Torch Concepts but claimed that the firm was not a TSA contractor and had nothing to do with the development of CAPPS II. However, TSA officials told *The Nation* that Acxiom is a subcontractor to Lockheed Martin, the main contractor on the CAPPS II project.

What is interesting about this is that the TSA has repeatedly claimed that its screening system would require access only to the travel itineraries, names, addresses, dates of birth and phone numbers of passengers. The JetBlue scandal shows that passengers could lose control of a great deal more personal information.

"For me it was totally consistent with what I've seen in my research of the privacy practices of the travel industry in the USA," said privacy advocate Edward Hasbrouck, who uncovered the original document and leaked it to Wired News.

A December 2002 Defense Department report on security and privacy, which can be found on the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency website (www.darpa.mil.iao/secpriv.pdf), cites the "stunning" amount of data that Acxiom is capable of gathering and suggests that the government may be able to cull data from Acxiom without the firm even knowing about it.

Acxiom, one of the nation's largest data-mining companies, has actively sought federal contracts related to homeland security in the past two years. In December 2001 Acxiom hired Gen. Wesley Clark, now a Democratic presidential candidate, as a lobbyist and board member to help procure government contracts.

Washington-based EPIC earlier this year filed suit in an effort to connect the dots between the CAPPS II program and the TIA program. Now EPIC has filed a complaint with the Federal Trade Commission alleging that JetBlue and Acxiom violated consumer-protection laws when they disclosed the information to Torch Concepts. EPIC has also filed Freedom of Information Act requests with the Defense Department, the Federal Aviation Administration and the TSA to get to the bottom of the JetBlue imbroglio. Until the TSA, JetBlue, Torch Concepts and Acxiom come clean, there can be no confidence that CAPPS II will make Americans either safe or free.

DAVID JONES

David Jones, a Newark, New Jersey–based freelance writer, was the recipient of a 2003 George Washington Williams Fellowship from the Independent Press Association.

Educating for Privilege

As a law school dean, I was much taken with a statement from Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's landmark opinion in the University of Michigan case: "Law schools represent the training ground for a large number of our nation's leaders...it is necessary that the path to leadership be visibly open" to every segment of society.

In a powerful way, that sentiment breaks new ground. It recognizes that more is at stake in our affirmative-action battles than the quality of the classroom experience. The graduates of the country's strong law schools enjoy a hugely disproportionate access to opportunity and authority in the private and public sectors of our economy. Selective professional schools constitute distinctive pipelines to our principal corridors of power. The processes designed to distribute these remarkable resources, Justice O'Connor reminded, must be open to all.

The Michigan case, of course, explored the accessibility of selective higher education when it comes to race. The Justices concluded, thankfully, that universities need not be agnostic about the effective integration of their halls. But what if we cast O'Connor's inquiry more broadly? What if we asked about the diversity of selective student bodies on the basis of class? I think we'd find that the great institutions of American higher education, and their law schools, are constructed on a foundation of economic advantage that is bad—and getting worse. We aren't doing much about it. And we're behaving in ways to widen the breach.

Here's what I mean.

The Educational Testing Service recently published a study of the nation's 146 most selective colleges and universities. This is the pool into which law schools cast their nets. ETS concluded that only 3 percent of those students come from the bottom economic quartile. Only about 10 percent of the cohort comes from the bottom 50 percent. A stunning 74 percent hails from the top quarter. The pool of undergraduates from which we choose is badly skewed toward the economically privileged.

And the bias is increasing. A 2003 Education Department study

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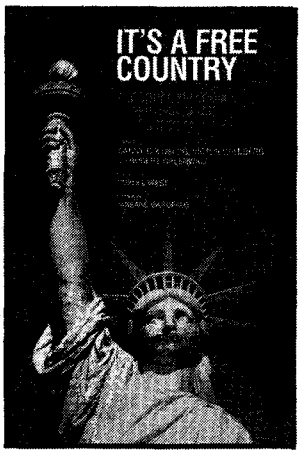

IT'S A FREE COUNTRY: PERSONAL FREEDOM IN AMERICA AFTER SEPTEMBER 11

Edited by
DANNY GOLDBERG, VICTOR GOLDBERG & ROBERT GREENWALD

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CORNEL WEST

Preface by
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COMMENT

found that the lion's share of the past decade's financial aid increases has gone to students in the top economic quarter. In 1995, 41 percent of private university aid went to high-income students. By 1999 it was 51 percent. The Lumina Foundation's recent study of tuition discounting draws similar conclusions. Eight years ago, students from families making $20,000 or less received, on average, 2 percent more than students from families making $60,000 or more. Today, wealthier children get 29 percent more than poorer ones. The high tuition, high aid model is backfiring.

And then there are the law schools. Tuition increases have dramatically outpaced inflation over the past decade. Public school tuition rose a staggering 141 percent. Inflation was 31 percent. The average private law school tuition bill is now about $25,000 a year. Public ones charge about $19,000 for nonresidents, $10,000 for residents; 86 percent of law students borrow to pay for their studies. Last year, the median private law graduate debt burden was $84,000. And that doesn't include undergraduate loans, which can also be daunting. The typical starting salary for public-sector jobs nationally is about $35,000—requiring an impossible 40 percent of monthly income for debt repayment.

As private law school tuition has skyrocketed, some of the best public law schools have, in effect, privatized—Michigan and Virginia being ready examples. Average per-student expenditures at American Bar Association–approved schools quadrupled over the past two decades—rising from about $5,000 to $20,000 per student. The money fueled what one dean calls "a positional arms race." We compete on *U.S. News & World Report*'s terms—offering more high-end and fewer need-based scholarships; paying extraordinary salaries to star faculty and deans; spending huge sums on facilities, technology and brochures bragging about our accomplishments—raising the price of education for everyone. No one even thinks of expanding our student bodies or reducing the costs of instruction. That would be heresy. This elevator only goes up.

This crescendo of rising costs and expenditures cannot be thought acceptable. It fences out a huge segment of our community on the basis of wealth. It allows students' dreams to be swamped by their debts—forcing them into career paths they wouldn't otherwise choose. It increases the ultimate cost of representation in a legal regime that already prices too many out. It results in a system of legal education that radically penalizes the bottom half, in the service of a system of justice that has long done exactly the same thing.

No single formula will push back the mounting exclusion. But altered admissions and financial aid practices could work to assure that poor students matter. And meaningful loan forgiveness programs, at both state and federal levels, could help return public-sector jobs to viability. State legislators must recall that even given budget difficulties we face, an economically polarized democracy can't afford to abandon public higher education. And the academy itself has to remember that professional education is a public good, not merely a private one. After all, educating for privilege is powerfully at odds with who we say we are. GENE NICHOL

Gene Nichol is dean and Burton Craige Professor at the University of North Carolina Law School.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Gray Zone

LYNNE VIOLA

GULAG: A History.
By Anne Applebaum.
Doubleday. 677 pp. $35.

On a hot, dusty summer day in 1998, I drove with friends from Smolensk to the village of Zagor'e to meet Ivan Tvardovsky, a survivor of Stalin's forced-labor camps and the brother of the renowned Soviet poet Alexander Tvardovsky. Ivan and his wife, Maria, both 85, were waiting for us behind the wooden gate to their home.

We sat with the Tvardovskys at their kitchen table for the entire afternoon, listening to their stories. Both were children of families that had been designated "kulak" households and subjected to expropriation and deportation to the frozen hinterlands of the Soviet Union in the early 1930s, during the violent campaign to collectivize agriculture. Along with more than 2 million other peasants classified as kulaks, their families constituted the first echelons of forced labor in Stalin's Soviet Union, the first inhabitants of what would soon become the gulag. They were put to work in remote areas to fell trees, mine the country's mineral wealth and open up the vast and empty land tracts of the far north and east. The conditions they faced were merciless and death rates high. Maria's parents died of starvation in 1932, leaving her and an older sister to fend for themselves. Ivan's family survived a typhus epidemic and then, in 1932, fled their place of exile.

Ivan ended up in Nizhnyi Tagil in the Urals, where he met and married Maria. Just as a new chapter in their lives was beginning, Ivan was conscripted into the army. He fought in the Russo-Finnish War (1939–40), was captured and landed in a POW camp. He escaped from the camp and spent the years of World War II in Finland and Sweden. At the end of 1946, Ivan decided to return home. He was arrested in Vyborg the moment he stepped on Soviet soil. Following four months at the infamous Lubyanka prison in Moscow, he left for the gulag, remaining in the camps until his release on May 27, 1952.

Ivan's life history was vastly different from that of his older brother, Alexander Tvardovsky (1910–71). A member of the Komsomol (Communist Youth League) from the age of 15, Alexander left his family home in Zagor'e when he was 18 for the city of Smolensk. His rise to fame as a poet began in the 1930s, and by 1936 he had published his epic poem "The Land of Muravia." This poem won him the first of three Stalin prizes and would be followed by his vastly popular wartime epic "Vasily Tyorkin," which made him a household name in the Soviet Union.

The gulag represented a shadow world where 'enemies of the people' could be isolated in order to purify 'healthy' Soviet society.

When Alexander was 21, he learned that his family had been forcibly deported as kulaks. The family sought contact with Alexander, pleading with him for help from their distant place of exile in the Urals. Alexander replied, "Dear Family! I am neither a barbarian nor a brute. I ask you to stay strong, be patient, and work. The liquidation of the kulak as a class is not the liquidation of people, still less of children." He asked his family not to write to him again. He renounced his family as "enemies of the people," and had no more contact with them until 1936. He would remain permanently estranged from Ivan, all the more so once Ivan landed in the gulag after the war.

It was only after Khrushchev's 1956 "secret speech" to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party condemning Stalin's crimes that Alexander Tvardovsky became an opponent of Stalinism. Today, he is best

Lynne Viola is professor of history at the University of Toronto. She is the author of Peasant Rebels Under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Peasant Resistance *(Oxford) and is currently writing a history of the forced deportation of peasants under Stalin.*

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known in the West for publishing the work of dissident writers, notably Alexander Solzhenitsyn's 1962 novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, in *Novyi Mir* (New World), which under his editorship became the flagship progressive journal of the Khrushchev thaw. In 1968 Alexander Tvardovsky wrote his own exposé, "By Right of Memory," an autobiographical poem in which he confessed his guilt before his father's memory. The Soviet censors prevented him from publishing the poem and he was soon forced out of his position as editor of *Novyi Mir*. Tvardovsky died in 1971, officially out of favor. His name, however, had become synonymous with civic courage and human dignity.

The tale of these two brothers is anything but a clear and simple morality tale. Nor is it a tale of redemption and belated sacrifice on Alexander's part. It is instead emblematic of the moral and ethical ambiguities of life under Stalin, of the difficulties of pronouncing judgment in history or of proclaiming villains and heroes in any attempt to construct a "usable past" for post-Communist Russia.

The story of the gulag—Stalin's network of forced-labor camps, prisons, colonies, exile villages—is a key part of this complex history. Although the existence of concentration camps predated Stalin, they expanded enormously under his rule. The gulag represented a shadow world where "enemies of the people" could be isolated in order to purify "healthy" Soviet society on its forced march to Communism. The gulag housed criminals, people with unacceptable pasts, regime critics and, in general, anyone who may have fallen into the web of Stalin's suspicion. Its inmates worked as forced laborers in forestry, mining and construction under, quite literally, killing conditions. Russian scholars estimate that at its height the gulag encompassed as many as 476 separate camp complexes, containing within themselves multiple smaller units. The gulag population reached its maximum size in the early 1950s, with roughly 2.5 million inmates; some scholars estimate that as many as 18 million people overall passed through its gates in the years from 1929 to 1953, not including those who were sentenced to exile or special labor colonies.

It was Solzhenitsyn who first brought the gulag to the attention of a broad audience in the West. Following his literary success in *Novyi Mir*, Solzhenitsyn found himself out of favor with the regime and unable to publish. In the early 1970s his magisterial work *The Gulag Archipelago* was published in the West. Solzhenitsyn's epic account became an instant classic, exposing the horrors of the gulag with a passion and literary genius that remain unmatched. Locating the origins of the gulag in the early postrevolutionary period under Lenin, Solzhenitsyn implicitly challenged the revisionist interpretation inaugurated by Khrushchev in his 1956 secret speech, when the Soviet leader placed the blame for the crimes of past decades on Stalin, arguing that Stalin had usurped the role of the Communist Party and replaced it with his own "cult of personality." In Khrushchev's interpretation, it was Stalin rather than the Communist system that was responsible for the widespread repression and mass atrocities of the gulag (particularly those whose victims had been party members). Khrushchev's "revelation" and interpretation were as much a political ploy against his rivals in the party as an attempt to restore legitimacy to the Soviet system.

Applebaum's interpretation echoes the American cold war narrative of Soviet history.

Most Western scholars followed Solzhenitsyn's lead in their interpretations of Soviet history. Although a few distinguished historians (Stephen Cohen, Moshe Lewin and Robert Tucker, among others) pursued alternative analyses, emphasizing the key role that Stalin played in altering the course of the 1917 revolution and creating a regime of mass repression, in the process revising our understandings of the first decade of Soviet history, it was Solzhenitsyn's interpretation that prevailed in mainstream circles.

With the partial opening of Soviet archives in the early 1990s, a handful of Russian and foreign scholars began the difficult process of excavating the gulag from the cellars of Soviet history, not to mention the intellectual wastelands of the cold war. To date, this effort has resulted in the publication of a series of major archival document collections, a few dissertations and monographs devoted to specific "islands" of the gulag, and a host of valuable new firsthand accounts of life in the gulag. Russia's foremost historian of the Soviet era, Oleg Khlevniuk, is currently compiling a documentary history of the gulag for the prestigious Yale University Press "Annals of Communism" series. Yet, since the publication of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*, no one had published a general history of the gulag.

Anne Applebaum, a columnist for the *Washington Post*, has filled this gap in *Gulag: A History*. Her work, though written with a popular audience in mind, is based on the classic sources of gulag history as well as a formidable array of new secondary sources, published archival documents, memoirs, interviews and a sampling of unpublished archival documents. Applebaum argues that until recently the history of Soviet concentration camps was "not at all well known" and that "to many people, the crimes of Stalin do not inspire the same visceral reaction as do the crimes of Hitler." Her goal is to restore the history of the gulag to its rightful place in history lest we forget the legacy of this tragic chapter of the twentieth century.

The book is divided into a chronological history of the gulag and a separate section on individual aspects of everyday life in it. Applebaum begins her narrative by situating the gulag within a wider historical context, exploring such issues as the prerevolutionary Russian heritage of exile and forced labor, colonialism, totalitarianism and the Nazi death camps. Her examination of these important issues is suggestive, though cursory. Although she flirts with comparative history, she ultimately sees the gulag as a uniquely Soviet product, thus falling back on a more traditional interpretation.

In fact, Applebaum largely follows Solzhenitsyn's interpretive lead in Part I of her book, locating the origins of the gulag in the immediate postrevolutionary period and depicting the rise of the gulag in tandem with that of the Soviet state. Like Solzhenitsyn, she places major emphasis on some of the early experiments in forced labor that took place on the Solovetsky Islands—the site of a fifteenth-century monastery transformed into a concentration camp from 1923 to 1939—and in the construction of the White Sea Canal. She argues that these were formative experiences in the emergence of the gulag, convincing the Soviet leadership of the efficacy of self-supporting penal institutions, their potential profitability and the supposed redemptive powers of forced labor. Although Applebaum is unable to locate a "master plan" for what would be a vast economic experiment in repression—and, indeed, argues that there probably was no such plan—she concludes that an economic *raison d'état* constituted the primary rationale and purpose of the gulag. In the course of the 1930s, it would evolve from a chaotic entity into a vast and ordered bureaucracy, through which the secret police would administer an

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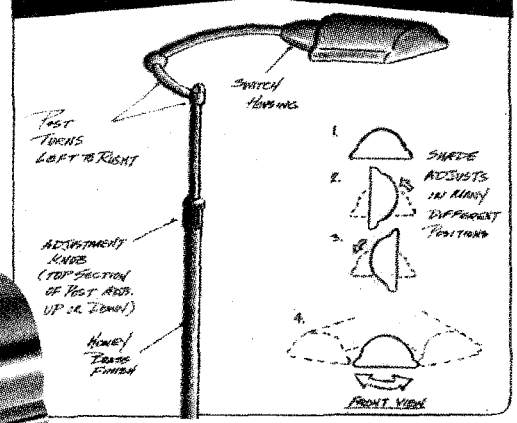
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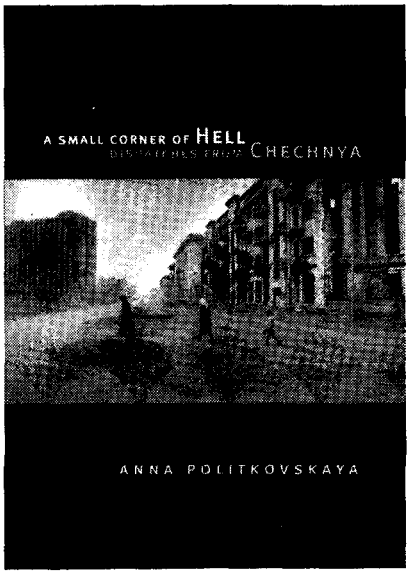
"Russia's least wanted journalist."—*Guardian*

A SMALL CORNER OF HELL
DISPATCHES FROM CHECHNYA

Anna Politkovskaya
Translated by **Alexander Burry** and **Tatiana Tulchinsky**



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—*The Times*, London

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economic empire that constituted a virtual state within the state.

In Part II, Applebaum alters her focus in order to explore individual facets of life in the camps—arrest, prison, transport, labor, everyday life, guards, women, children and so on. Much of this terrain is familiar from *The Gulag Archipelago*; indeed, the very organization of Part II bears a strong resemblance to that of Solzhenitsyn's history. Nonetheless, this part of the book incorporates much new firsthand material, enriching our understanding of the everyday textures of the gulag. Her analysis of how inmates survived and organized resistance, as well as her discussion of escape attempts, illuminates new subjects for further exploration.

In Part III, Applebaum returns to a chronological narrative, documenting the gulag's history during World War II and after. The chapters on the war present a good summary of available information. The coverage of the postwar gulag is largely uncharted territory. In these years, the population reached its height—some 2.5 million prisoners. As former Soviet POWs, returning expatriates and nationalists from Ukraine and elsewhere were thrown into the gulag, a more restive mood appeared in the camps, as Solzhenitsyn and others have shown. Major rebellions erupted in a series of camps soon after the death of Stalin in 1953. At the same time, there was a growing awareness, especially in secret-police circles, that the gulag was becoming a costly drain on the economy—inefficient, corrupt and unwieldy. Applebaum successfully demonstrates how the combination of this awareness and the increased fears of social instability in the camps prompted Lavrenty Beria, the head of the secret police, to initiate reforms in the camps in the wake of Stalin's death, reforms that would eventually lead to the partial dismantling of the gulag after 1953. The final chapters of the book survey what remained of it from the Khrushchev to the Gorbachev eras.

Applebaum's *Gulag* deserves to be read by a broad audience. She writes well, and her reliance on and respect for the voices of gulag victims make for a compelling and compassionate story. Yet this book should not be read uncritically. Applebaum's interpretive framework carries with it echoes of the American cold war narrative of Soviet history, detracting from what is otherwise a notable contribution.

In her epilogue, Applebaum departs from her historical narrative in order to draw out the lessons of the gulag for both Russian and Western readers. She rightly laments the relative dearth of memorials to the victims of Soviet repression as well as the rapid decline in Russian public awareness about the gulag after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. She also bemoans the failure of the post-Soviet Russian government to conduct some sort of truth-telling commission (on the order of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission) or trial, attributing this failure to the persistence in government of "former communists [who] have a clear interest in concealing the past." The failure "to tell the truth," she suggests, has deprived the Russian nation of its heroes. "If scoundrels of the old regime go unpunished," she writes, "good will in no way have been seen to triumph over evil."

Leaving aside the role that many former Communists—including onetime Soviet Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev, chairman of the current Russian rehabilitation commission, whom Applebaum quotes favorably—have played in the critical re-examination of the past, it strikes me as naïve, if not ahistorical, to politicize and simplify the complex issue of public awareness in this way. Public awareness of the gulag declined in part because popular culture emerged to push out, if not suffocate, an interest in the past, in part because many right-thinking people simply became exhausted to the point of despair by the revelations of the horrors of the past that flooded the country during the Gorbachev era of *glasnost*. Applebaum is right in saying that it will take at least another generation for public awareness of the gulag to return, but this delay is not only or even primarily because of obstruction by former Communists.

Nor are truth-telling commissions or trials an easy fix for a complex, tragic history. All too often, as we have seen in Eastern Europe, the "rediscovery" of the past and the search for culprits can open up a Pandora's box, revealing much more than the human heart can absorb, as husbands, wives and friends are "unmasked" as former government agents or informers. Moreover, as the story of Alexander Tvardovsky illustrates, it is not so simple to determine who is a villain and who is a hero, to separate the tangled threads of the lives of individuals caught up in history.

Equally problematic are the lessons that Applebaum draws for her Western readers. She writes, "Already, we are forgetting what it was that mobilized us, what inspired us, what held the civilization of 'the West' together for so long: we are forgetting what it

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was that we were fighting against." Apart from the possibility that it is far more likely that "we" have forgotten what we were fighting for (as opposed to against), the notion that the cold war was waged over human rights and Western civilization rather than over competing global politics, ideologies and economic systems seems to me a dubious proposition. Perhaps one can make this claim if, like Applebaum, one's list of modern tragedies includes the gulag, the Holocaust, the Armenian massacre, the Nanking massacre, the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the Cambodian war and the Bosnian wars, but does not extend to encompass the Atlantic slave trade and US race relations, Dresden, Hiroshima and the Vietnam War, to say nothing of the postcolonial tragedies unfolding in Africa. It seems at best naïve, at worst hubristic, to exploit the gulag in an effort to rewrite the cold war and create a usable past for the supposed victory of the West—not to mention the rather awkward timing for an American to be heralding the triumph of the West. Nevertheless, this is precisely what Applebaum does, with a parting shot at the supposed "Gulag denier[s]" in "our universities" who seek to "destroy the moral fabric of our society" but who, in reality, are no more than figments of a cold war imagination.

History, however, is not a morality tale, a fable to be remade by the victors on behalf of the vanquished. The history and legacy of the gulag is neither so simple nor so straightforward as Applebaum would have us imagine. As the tale of the Tvardovsky brothers reminds us, it is no easy matter to sit in the court of history, to separate the innocent from the guilty, to pass judgment on Alexander Tvardovsky for renouncing his family. It is perhaps best left to the family, to the nation, to come to a reckoning with their own past, in their own way.

In 1986 Ivan Tvardovsky returned home to Zagor'e to oversee the reconstruction of the family's farm. In 1988 the farm was opened to the public as a museum dedicated to the memory of local hero Alexander Tvardovsky. Ivan became the caretaker of the museum and of Alexander's local legacy. The irony of this situation was not lost on Ivan. He remains forever embittered over Alexander's transgressions, but watches over his brother's museum all the same. ■

Savage Modernism

RUSSELL JACOBY

THE ORIGINS OF NAZI VIOLENCE.
By Enzo Traverso. Translated by Janet Lloyd. New Press. 200 pp. $24.95.

A refugee from Nazism and a distinguished New York psychoanalyst, Sandor Rado had thought long and deeply about Hitler's takeover of Germany. Years ago, the writer Otto Friedrich interviewed him in his Manhattan apartment and asked him why the Nazis came to power. "There is a long silence... 'That is not an easy question that you ask me,' Dr. Rado says. Another long silence. Dr. Rado stares into the dusk of his study, thinking. Finally, he decides on his answer. He speaks very slowly, very carefully. 'I don't know.'"

Rado's "I don't know" may stand as the ultimate statement about the Nazi genocide, honest humility of reason faced with human irrationality. We don't know. Or we do know, but only in pieces and chunks? The whole continues to elude us. Yet the effort to comprehend the why and the what of Nazism not only proceeds but intensifies. Sixty years ago few wrote about the Nazi slaughter. Today an expanding literature addresses every aspect of it.

The more ambitious efforts to understand Nazism fall into two categories. One type identifies something specifically in German history as the root cause: German authoritarianism, feeble liberalism, brash nationalism or virulent anti-Semitism. From A.J.P. Taylor's *The Course of German History* fifty-five years ago to Daniel Goldhagen's recent *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, Nazism is understood as the outcome of a long history of uniquely German traits. Approaches like these command an immediate plausibility and often popularity. After all, Germany began the war and organized the genocide. "Nazi" designated a member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party. German malfeasance derives exclusively from German factors.

As satisfying as such an account may be, it runs into immediate problems. In isolating something peculiarly German, it seems to forget the map. Germany partakes of Europe—and Western civilization—and shares its strengths and weaknesses. Germany hardly monopolized anti-Semitism, for instance. Indeed, for decades anti-Semitism in France and in the Austrian empire far exceeded that in Germany. Edouard Drumont's *Jewish France*, a two-volume compendium of racist nonsense, sold more than a million copies in 1886. For many contemporary observers, the Dreyfus case of the 1890s pegged France as the most anti-Semitic country in Europe. Before World War I, two out of three Austrians voted for anti-Semitic parties. When Germany occupied Austria in 1938, a half-million Austrians wildly greeted Hitler in Vienna, a gathering whose size is still unsurpassed in Austria to this day. Hitler himself was Austrian.

If one approach to Nazism focuses on specifically German features, the other follows the opposite path, and highlights wider issues such as larger European anti-Semitism. Of course, these studies go beyond anti-Semitism to consider modern nationalism, capitalism, racism, mass society, totalitarianism and human psychology. In this category is Hannah Arendt's still-controversial *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, subtitled *A Report on the Banality of Evil*, as well as Christopher Browning's much more recent *Ordinary Men*, a study of a German police battalion that rounded up and shot Jews. These books suggest that the nature of bureaucracy, the propensity for obedience or lack of imagination, render genocide "banal" or ordinary. Any nation or individual could be caught up in a murderous operation. If the German-centric method seems to ignore Germans' links to the rest of the world, the danger here is the opposite; it dissolves German history in a universal solvent. No one person or thing is guilty because everything is.

This risk is not news to Enzo Traverso, who seeks in *The Origins of Nazi Violence* to remain loyal to German particulars while locating them in a wider European framework. Indeed, the title suggests a narrowness that the book belies, and a more exact translation of the original French title, *Nazi Violence: A European Genealogy*, would have been preferable. Traverso teaches political science in France and has written often about Nazi genocide; perhaps his best-known book is a study of Marxism and the Jewish question. In fact,

Russell Jacoby, who teaches history at UCLA, is the author of The End of Utopia *(Basic),* The Last Intellectuals *(Noonday) and other books.*

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several of his books, including this one, resound with the Marxism of Gramsci and Adorno.

In weighing into specialized debates about Nazism, Traverso's introduction might put off the nonacademic reader. Yet he has written with verve and style a provocative book about European violence. He begins by discussing a machine named after a French doctor. In the early stages of the French Revolution, Dr. Guillotin suggested that a beheading device might lessen the pain and suffering that accompanied hanging by rope or decapitation by ax. The instrument that was perfected, and that carried the doctor's name, used gravity and a descending steel blade to swiftly separate head and body. It was viewed as a victory for compassion, since cruder execution procedures were abolished, and for equality, since the same method would be used for rich and poor. To later observers the guillotine came to signify the routinization of death. Even the executioner, once an inglorious and shadowy person, became just a regular state employee. For Traverso, the guillotine marks the entry of the Industrial Revolution into capital punishment. Executions became "mechanized and serialized... a technical process...impersonal...rapid." Soon "men began to be slaughtered as though they were animals."

For Traverso, the guillotine marks the entry of the Industrial Revolution into capital punishment. Executions became 'a technical process.'

Indeed, Traverso takes up the slaughter of animals and sketches how slaughterhouses in the nineteenth century moved out of the central cities to the outskirts—out of sight and out of mind. At the same time, the killing of animals became rationalized. He gives a short course on prison construction and the modern factory system, with its use of Frederick Taylor's ideas on the rationalization of labor—how to break it down into separate movements, measure it and render it more efficient and impersonal.

This is still only chapter one, but the results are not far off. Auschwitz stands not only at the end of this process but at its beginning—the industrialization of death. The four figures of the guillotine—the doctor, the engineer, the judge and executioner—"play an irreplaceable role" in "Operation T4," the Nazi gassing of the mentally ill, which preceded the genocide. The modern factory system finds its culmination in the death camps. "Through an irony of history, the theories of Frederick Taylor," writes Traverso, were applied by a totalitarian system to serve "not production, but extermination."

Traverso keeps up a fast pace, highlighting the forces of domination, racism and colonial expansion that make Nazi violence if not inevitable, then at least unsurprising. He assembles striking quotations from nineteenth-century colonialists and imperialists calling for the destruction of inferior peoples. Fed by social-Darwinist thought, these ideas were often put into practice. The Belgians, the British, the Germans and the French not only dominated Africa and East Asia through "rational organization," but caused a precipitate decline in their populations by disease, famine and overwork "that in a number of cases can only be described as genocide." In its massive killing, propaganda and cult of violence, World War I served as "an anteroom of National Socialism." Nor is Traverso's argument done. He takes up what he calls "class racism," the hatred of workers, which fed into the Nazi myth of the "Jewish Bolshevik," as well as nineteenth-century notions of euthanasia and eugenics, which targeted, and sometimes sterilized, the putatively unfit. For Traverso such ideas on eugenics and "radical hygiene," the fruit of liberal institutions and thinking, "provided Nazism with a number of essential bases."

Traverso offers an indispensable lesson, especially for those who view Nazi genocide as a deviation from the main contours of modern history. Yet he casts his net so widely that the Nazi slaughter seems almost expected. "The guillotine, the abattoir, the Fordist factory, and rational administration," he writes in his conclusion, "along with racism, eugenics, the massacres of the colonial wars and those of World War I had already fashioned the social universe and the mental landscape in which the Final Solution would be conceived and set in motion." The only surprise is that he leaves some topics out. He says nothing, for instance, about Western slavery, which surely would help his case.

It is worth backing up a bit. Traverso states early in the book that "the history of the guillotine provides a paradigmatic reflection of the dialectics of the Enlightenment." That phrase alludes to the wartime book by two refugees, Adorno and Horkheimer's *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Yet that book underscores progressive and regressive moments of the Enlightenment that are missing in Traverso. His story reads like a one-way street, Enlightenment to genocide.

The issue is not simply that the groups and individuals who opposed the catalogue of evils that Traverso assembles go unmentioned; rather, it is the ambiguity at the center of Modernism that Traverso overlooks. The French Revolution brought us not only the guillotine but the metric system and the rights of man. Would Traverso have us believe that the uniformity of the metric system marked a step in the bureaucratization of death? More to the point, the rights of man belong to the same Enlightenment *esprit*. Indeed, the split between science and philosophy belonged to the future. Dr. Guillotin himself was a member of the first revolutionary assembly. Thomas Paine, the famed defender of rights in both the United States and Europe, expended much effort designing and building a new type of iron bridge. He is as "paradigmatic" as Dr. Guillotin of the dialectic of Enlightenment. Traverso refers often to Arendt's *Origins of Totalitarianism*, with its discussion of imperialism and racism, but forgets that her treatise revolves around the eclipse of the rights of man.

The problem can be framed differently—and returns to the basic conundrum of investigating Nazi genocide as something specific to Germany or, more generally, to Western society. All the vicious ideas and actions that Traverso plots bespeak the United States, Britain and—to some extent—the former Soviet Union as much as they do Germany. Yet the Allies defeated Germany and ended the genocide. The slaughterhouses of Chicago, the Ford factories of Detroit and American eugenics did not result in genocide but in a war against it. Where would Traverso be if this were not so? It is a mite too easy for the modern Western intellectual composing at a high-tech computer and zipping about in a sleek automobile to opine that modern society is intrinsically genocidal.

The fact that the Allies defeated Germany, however, can feed a complacency that Traverso forcefully punctures. History might have unfolded differently if Hitler had played his cards more prudently. Facts are not fates. After all, Nazi Germany declared war on the United States, not the reverse, and invaded the Soviet Union, not the reverse. The home of the rights of man, France, succumbed to the German Army. Neither in Europe nor in the United States did the slaughter of the Jews raise especial concern. We can hardly take pride in a successful war against Germany motivated less by principle than realpolitik. For this reason Traverso's project—his insistence,

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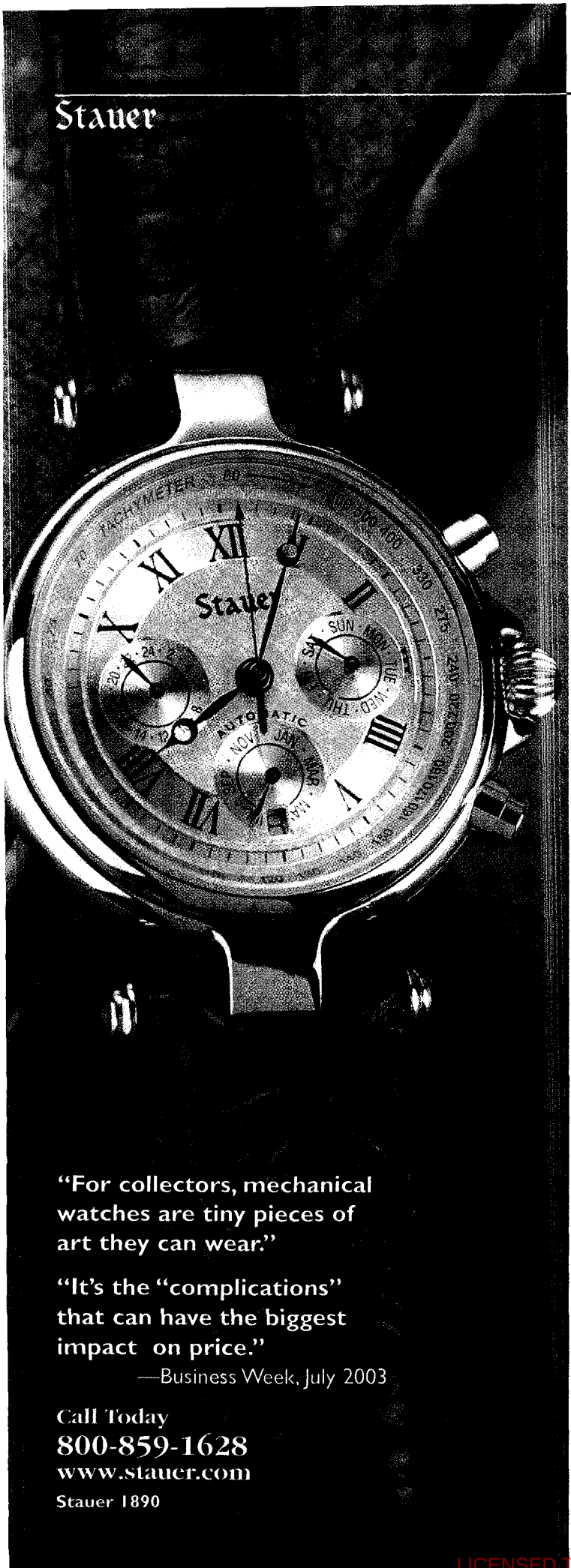
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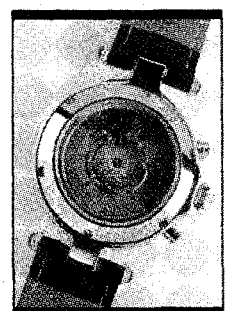
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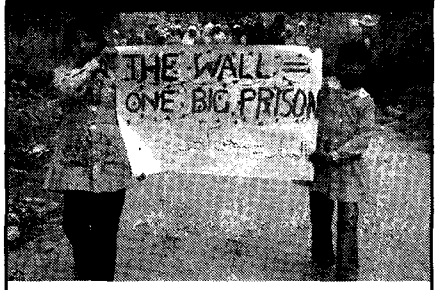

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as he says in his final sentence, that Auschwitz was "an authentic product of Western civilization"—is bold and salutary.

The danger of an undifferentiated indictment remains. Traverso says at one point that "Auschwitz introduced the word 'genocide' into our vocabulary." He is right, but also wrong. Raphael Lemkin, an émigré Jewish-Polish lawyer, coined the term in 1943 to alert the world to the slaughter of Jews by Germany—and for his efforts Lemkin died, as Michael Ignatieff has put it, "alone and forgotten in a Manhattan hotel." Traverso's formulation shares the old ailment of Marxist history. People with their individual bravery and guilt disappear under the steamroller of history. The universal engulfs the particular. No specifically German events or factors appear. Only in the last pages does Traverso unconvincingly introduce something he calls "regenerative anti-Semitism" as a uniquely German phenomenon that arises after World War I.

Traverso does not breathe a word of another unique constellation, the impact of the complete collapse of the German economy. The Great Depression hit all of Europe and the United States, but in France, England and the United States it largely drove politics to the left, in Germany to the right. Why? The Nazis were a fringe party until Germany was struck by vast unemployment. In 1928, before the Depression, the Nazi's won 2.6 percent of the vote; in 1932, they became the largest party. This is hardly irrelevant to the success of Nazism, but Traverso, whose scholarly sympathies lean toward Marxism, oddly fails to so much as mention it.

What was Nazism? We still do not know and perhaps never will. Yet in an era when the beneficence of the West is trumpeted, it is good to be reminded that modern barbarians emerged from within its portals, not from outside them. They were not distant mullahs following foreign scripts but familiar officials, citizens and soldiers schooled in Western thought and technology. For all its hyperbole, and because of it, Traverso has written an arresting and provocative essay on the savagery of progress. ■

FILMS

French Connections

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TO BE AND TO HAVE • DEMONLOVER

The setting is a one-room schoolhouse, which is momentarily unoccupied except for a pair of turtles. Wet snow rattling against the window reminds you of the bracing gray bluster of the day outside. Snow-laden evergreens are shrugging their branches in the wind, like sighing giants; while inside, the turtles labor with comic solemnity across the floor, beneath sun-colored furniture that will soon be bouncing with children.

The setting is the first-class cabin of an airplane, which is entirely filled with dozing passengers. Cocooned in white blankets, they lie silent in a dark and droning space that might as well not even have an outside. Video screens flash in identical rows before the sleepers, as if transmitting their collective dream: a scene of flaming chaos.

Let's hear it for French cinema, which has tossed up these exemplary moments in a pair of remarkable new releases: *To Be and to Have* by Nicolas Philibert and *demonlover* by Olivier Assayas. The first takes the form of a documentary and has the feel of an elegiac romance. The second takes the form of a feature and has the feel of a critical essay, or a delirious thriller, or maybe a critical delirium.

More to the point, the first deals with a rural community, which Philibert portrays as enduring, if not timeless. The second deals with the nowhereland of international business and the Internet, which Assayas portrays as existing in hypermodern, calamitous flux. Most of us live somewhere between these extremes—and we're lucky to have two such terrific movies to help us plot our location.

Let me introduce *To Be and to Have* through understatement, which is the method Philibert slyly practices. His film is a study of Georges Lopez, a veteran schoolteacher in the Auvergne region, and the dozen students he nurtured in his last year

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before retirement. To be more precise: Lopez nurtured thirteen students of all ages, all at the same time, teaching them every subject in the curriculum and never once raising his voice. Anybody who has handled even two kids, for as little as two hours, will look upon Lopez with awe; and Philibert's film deserves a similar respect, since it shares this man's virtue of being patiently, sympathetically tuned in.

What you learn by watching Lopez is simple enough: The man could be unfailingly attentive because he loved all of these children, from the grimiest, most woolgathering 4-year-old—the natural comedian of the picture, always playing to the camera—to the most awkward, underachieving near-adolescent, who was about to enter the regional middle school on a split decision. He loved them; he loved his work with them; and he loved having Philibert's crew in the classroom, since the filmmakers helped him savor the final months of his career. What you feel with Lopez, though, is anything but simple. It's nothing less than the deep paradox of time, which plods forward, turtlelike, for every individual and yet for the community revolves like the seasons.

Philibert begins with the circle: images of men and boys herding cattle in the snow, to the chiming of a distant bell. Before he gets to anything so newfangled as pedagogy, he wants to look at the landscape, the weather, the motions of rural labor. These are subjects to which he will periodically return throughout the film, often accompanying them with an airy, perpetual-motion musical score by Philippe Hersant, so that he evokes the turning of the year. The gesture seems reminiscent of an older documentary: Georges Rouquier's classic film on rural French life, *Farrebique*. But whereas Rouquier sought to reassure with poetry—his film, made in the aftermath of World War II, showed the French that their earth still flourished—Philibert wants to stimulate with clear, direct prose. Yes, spring follows winter, and one generation succeeds the next—but you still need to know how to spell properly. If you're lucky, you'll have a few years to learn how, under the calm eye of a Georges Lopez.

He is a trim man, long-faced, bespectacled and bearded, who generally comes to work in a turtleneck and blue jeans. For the most part, Philibert presents you with direct views of him and his students, in the manner of a Frederick Wiseman documentary, though without Wiseman's strenuous probity, his effect of willing events into existence through the sheer intensity of his gaze. Philibert is more relaxed, more play-

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ful; he even allows himself an offscreen voice at a key moment, when he questions Lopez about his family and his career. This is the point when *To Be and to Have* breaks definitively out of the rural cycle—when Lopez, speaking with his characteristic transparency, explains that he pursued an education because he didn't want to follow his father into farm labor. "My father always said," Lopez remarks, "that it's a long way to the ground. He knew what he was talking about." Not only did Lopez free himself from backbreaking work, he also spent most of his adult life offering others the potential to make that same escape.

You might even say that the mere act of acquiring school knowledge is an escape—and not an easy one. Although Lopez is the star of *To Be and to Have*, the children are its real heroes, who struggle every day to overcome obstacles that most of us grown-ups have forgotten. You see the pupils cope with the befuddlement of math homework, the uncertainty of dictation, the awkwardness of cooking (just watch the 4-year-olds crack eggs), the confusions of friendship. Nobody has an "Aha!" moment; and yet there's drama, some of it very funny, written on the children's faces, as they progress through the months of unsteady transformation that Philibert has compacted into this film.

To Be and to Have is extraordinary for its faith that what the pupils experience really is a progress—no matter that the seasons change and the teacher steps into twilight. Clear-eyed in its lyricism, unsentimental in its vision of how Lopez and his students got their job done, *To Be and to Have* has the distinction of putting the elemental back into elementary education.

ANCESTORS

They are bicycling into the sun.
He has a dhoti on under his coat
and a briefcase with LYRIC
marked in big letters.

She has a sari in lime green
and socks and a backpack
that is filled with scraps
of torn silk

She drops a fan as she
races past the balustrade
into sky blue water.
The fan opens

and slips into the shape
an oyster makes when
it whorls a pearl.
Something of great price

is torn from her and the man
on his bicycle who is wheeling
at the edge of the crater
cannot see or hear.

Soon as the poet had it
they will be pecked to death
by a partridge. Soon they will drop
into dark water

Meena Alexander

Once you've been educated, of course, you run the risk of turning into one of the people in Assayas's *demonlover*. These characters, all of them first-class-cabin corporate functionaries, have no connection to a fixed place, or physical labor, or anything that the rest of the world would term struggle; and so, as if in compensation, their imaginations produce and feed upon extremity: rape, torture, kidnapping, murder. To quote Assayas's cinematographer Denis Lenoir, who did such astonishing, innovative work on the film, *demonlover* is fundamentally about "how white middle-class businesspeople—because they want to be able to afford Hermès luggage—find themselves with no moral scruples whatsoever."

The story, in brief, concerns a dirty, underhanded corporate competition to gain Internet distribution rights to the latest generation of Japanese animated pornography. Diane (Connie Nielsen) ostensibly works for the French company that is in line to get the contract; but she's secretly a spy for another group. Meanwhile, the French may either be partnering with or vying against an American firm represented by Elaine (Gina Gershon). The relationship between the two sides isn't clear; nor is it certain whether the French company's secretary, Elise (Chloë Sevigny), is acting for or against Diane. Most puzzling of all are the ties between all these forces and the Hellfire Club, an illegal online service that allows you to type your sadistic fantasies into a computer and then see them performed, in real time, on a real woman.

All this is dire enough; but what makes *demonlover* truly fascinating is the metamorphosis it works on Diane, changing her from a perpetrator of these intrigues into one of their objects. Crucial to this transformation is Assayas's casting of Connie Nielsen, an actress best known for her roles in *Gladiator*, *One-Hour Photo* and *Mission to Mars*. She is an impeccably competent performer who has, to date, shown no personality whatever; and so she is an ideal choice for Diane, though a sadistic one, since Assayas can dress her up any way he likes, as a businesswoman, a cat burglar (as in his *Irma Vep*), a sexual adventuress or a lookalike for Diana Rigg in *The Avengers*. Did a live woman morph into these roles, or is Nielsen the next generation of Japanese animation? Your suspicion that she's just pixels—or is doomed to be reduced to them—gains strength from her being positioned between Gershon and Sevigny: the first so knowingly, self-amusedly trashy, the second so wised-up and fierce, and both far more substantial than Nielsen could ever be.

Assayas's use of Nielsen, and his deliberately jolting leaps from plot to plot, have prompted some critics to liken *demonlover* to a video game. I think François Ozon's *Swimming Pool* might make a more instructive comparison. Like *Swimming Pool*, *demonlover* is a coolly elegant movie (French at heart, mostly English in language) about the lurid workings of the moneyed imagination; and like *Swimming Pool*, it makes itself into the prime example of its own subject matter. But Ozon's film is lurid and nothing more; it's a slow-moving Russ Meyer movie, made socially acceptable by the addition of a little red wine and pâté. Assayas, being genuinely smart, has done something far more dangerous. Rather than confine himself within the safe realm of psychology and national stereotypes, he has plunged into the midst of the corporate image-peddlers.

As shown in *demonlover*, they are not a pretty sight; and Assayas, for all his practiced detachment, comes at them like Buñuel wielding a straight razor.

Screening Schedule: From September 25 through October 5, the Museum of Modern Art will present the refreshingly dialogic documentaries of Heddy Honigmann at its Gramercy Theatre. Honigmann will be showing the premiere of her latest film, *Dame la Mano* (*Give Me Your Hand*), a closeup look at a Cuban rumba club in Union City, New Jersey, along with ten other works. For information on the MoMA series: (212) 777-4900, or www.moma.org. A more compact version of the retrospective will also be on view at the Pacific Film Archive in Berkeley, October 1–24. For information: (510) 642-5249 or www.bampfa.berkeley.edu. ■

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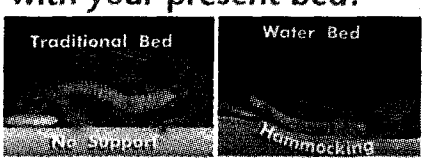

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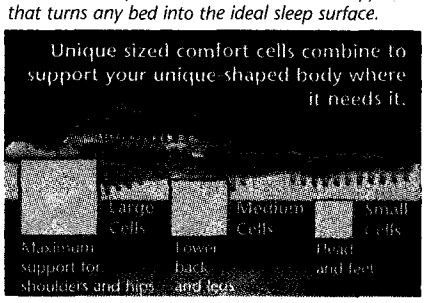
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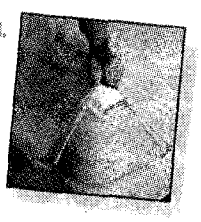

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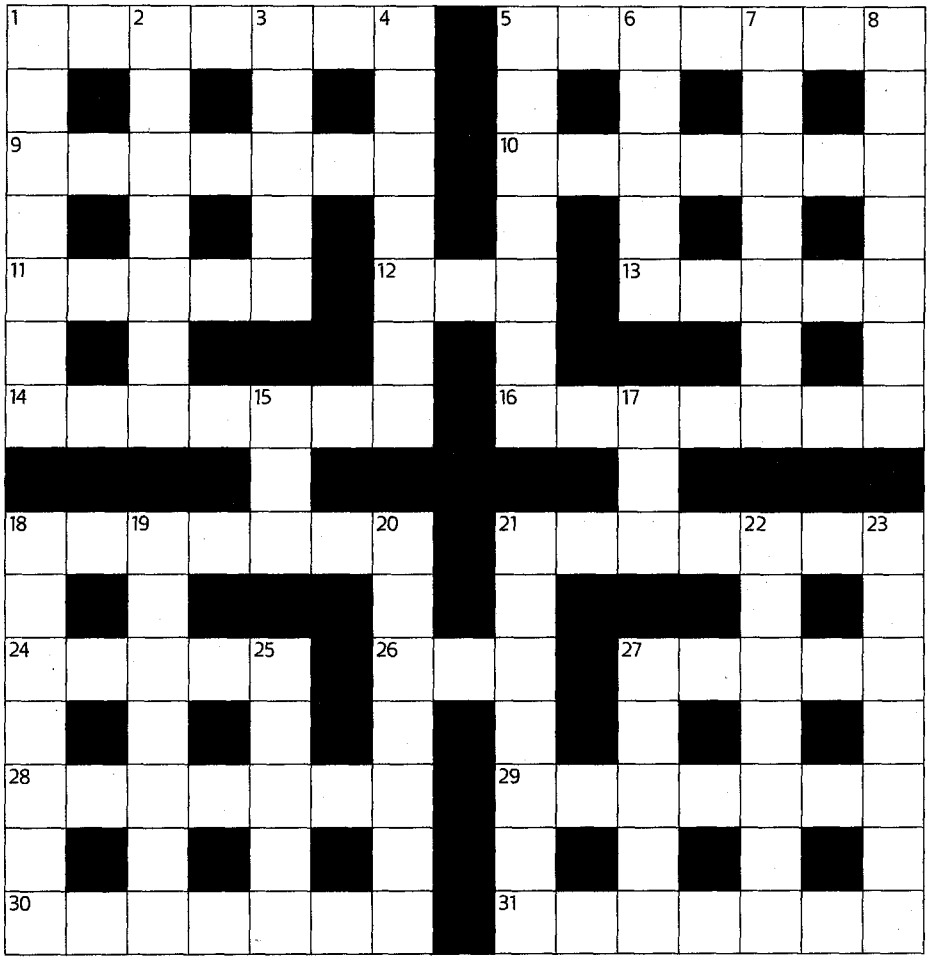

ACROSS

1 The result of a wound allowed to turn red. (7)

5 Such things won't hold water. (7)

9 Trying to get to "Roma" when in trouble, by means of this—or some other place. (7)

10 It's right in what losers throw in, for use in the garden. (7)

11, 12 and **13** Exceptionally good for hair or for bombing. (13)

14 Make an effort to go over the water, and this might help you! (7)

16 Hates to find wild steeds around the square! (7)

18 A Greek Hero had to wait while he paddled over to see his lady love, but he seems rather skinny and red-backed. (7)

21 Dancing rather drunkenly? (7)

24 Standard ruler named Tom, when little. (5)

26 Pickpocket showing how to make a real scoop. (3)

27 Sinners might find them fatal, but some work hard to get them. (5)

28 Trouble with the listening devices (each are wrong)? (7)

29 Not out where you might find an airy home, being easily reached. (2,5)

30 What you did (if you did) is long and, in return, refuse to admit what hurts in 28 is in it. (7)

31 Resists in a relative way? (7)

DOWN

1 Being brave, your uncle has nothing placed on it. (7)

2 Waste away for an award? (7)

3, 15 and **25** Spend your years right, plus acquiring one with a philosophical outlook, and it may be offered as part of the course. (5,3,5)

4 A bad fault, re what this describes might be a crying shame. (7)

5 Put out bogus money, it is said. (7)

6, 17 and **27** down Doggone! It's the oeuvre we are said to do as a final gesture. (5,3,5)

7 What economizers do is without merit. (7)

8 Sid sets awkwardly what the halter does. (7)

15 See 3

17 See 6

18 You can take a chance with this, with quite a bit to attempt about an important point. (7)

19 Fishy places, but there may be only one of these in the zodiac. (7)

20 Communist star performer, possibly essential in the painting. (3,4)

21 Tunes found in the theatrical company's offering—but broken-down performances may be in need of such… (7)

22 …or the young lady caught in the act. (7)

23 Sudden bursts of wind about one point in the compass—which might be inserted to improve the fit. (7)

25 See 3

27 See 6

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2909

S	C	A	T	T	E	R	■	B	R	A	I	N	E	D
A	■	B	■	O	■	O	■	R	■	E	■	E	■	E
T	E	A	R	G	A	S	■	A	U	S	T	R	I	A
R	■	S	■	A	■	T	■	I	■	O	■	V	■	D
A	C	H	E	S	■	A	N	D	■	P	A	I	N	S
P	■	E	■	■	■	N	■	E	■	■	■	N	■	E
S	E	D	A	T	E	D	■	D	I	P	T	E	R	A
■	■	■	■	H	■	■	■	■	■	R	■	■	■	■
M	O	N	K	E	Y	S	■	C	R	Y	P	T	I	C
A	■	O	■	■	■	T	■	A	■	■	■	R	■	A
S	H	O	R	T	■	A	N	D	■	S	W	E	E	T
T	■	D	■	Y	■	M	■	D	■	U	■	P	■	C
E	N	L	A	R	G	E	■	I	M	P	E	A	C	H
R	■	E	■	O	■	N	■	E	■	E	■	N	■	E
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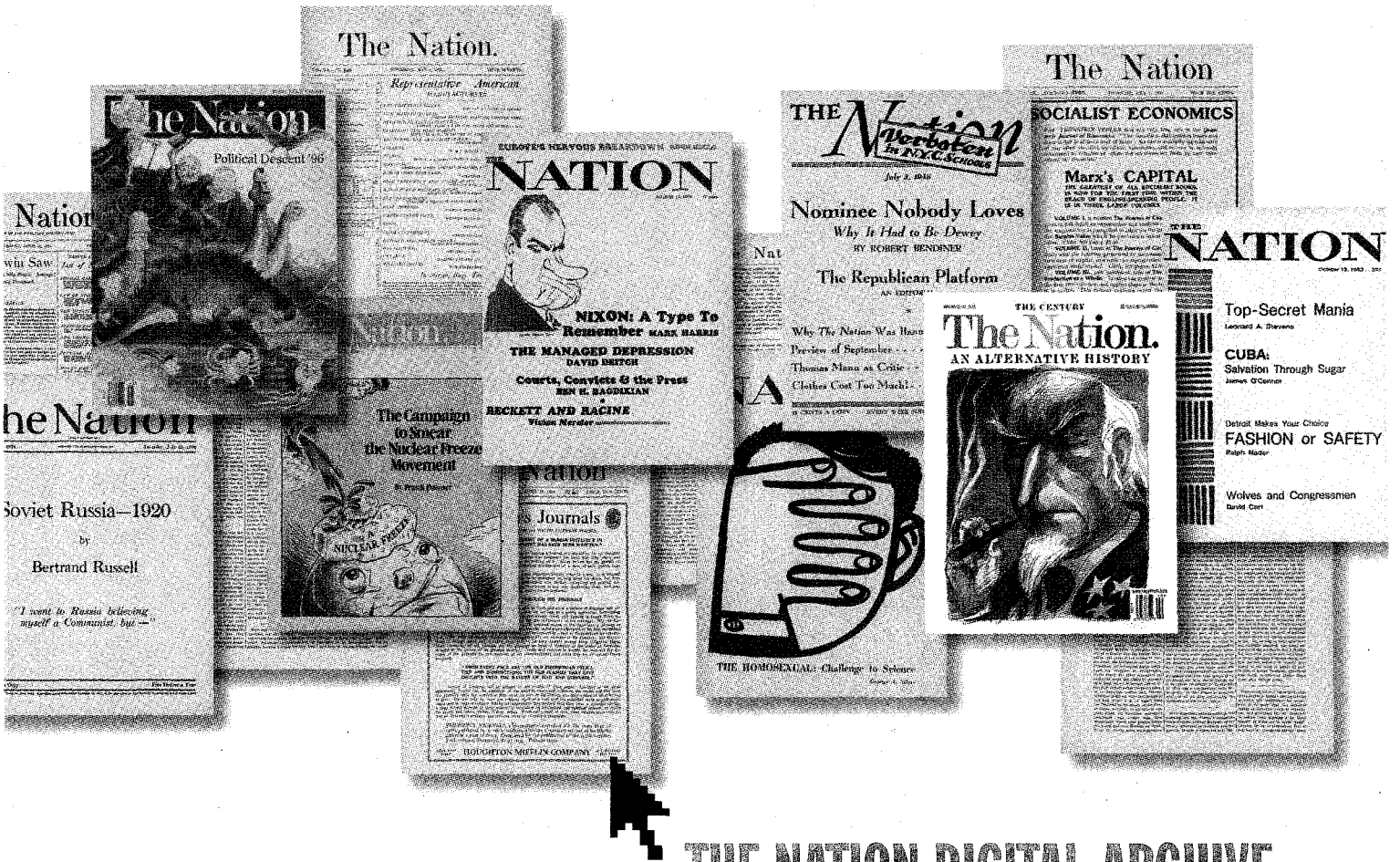

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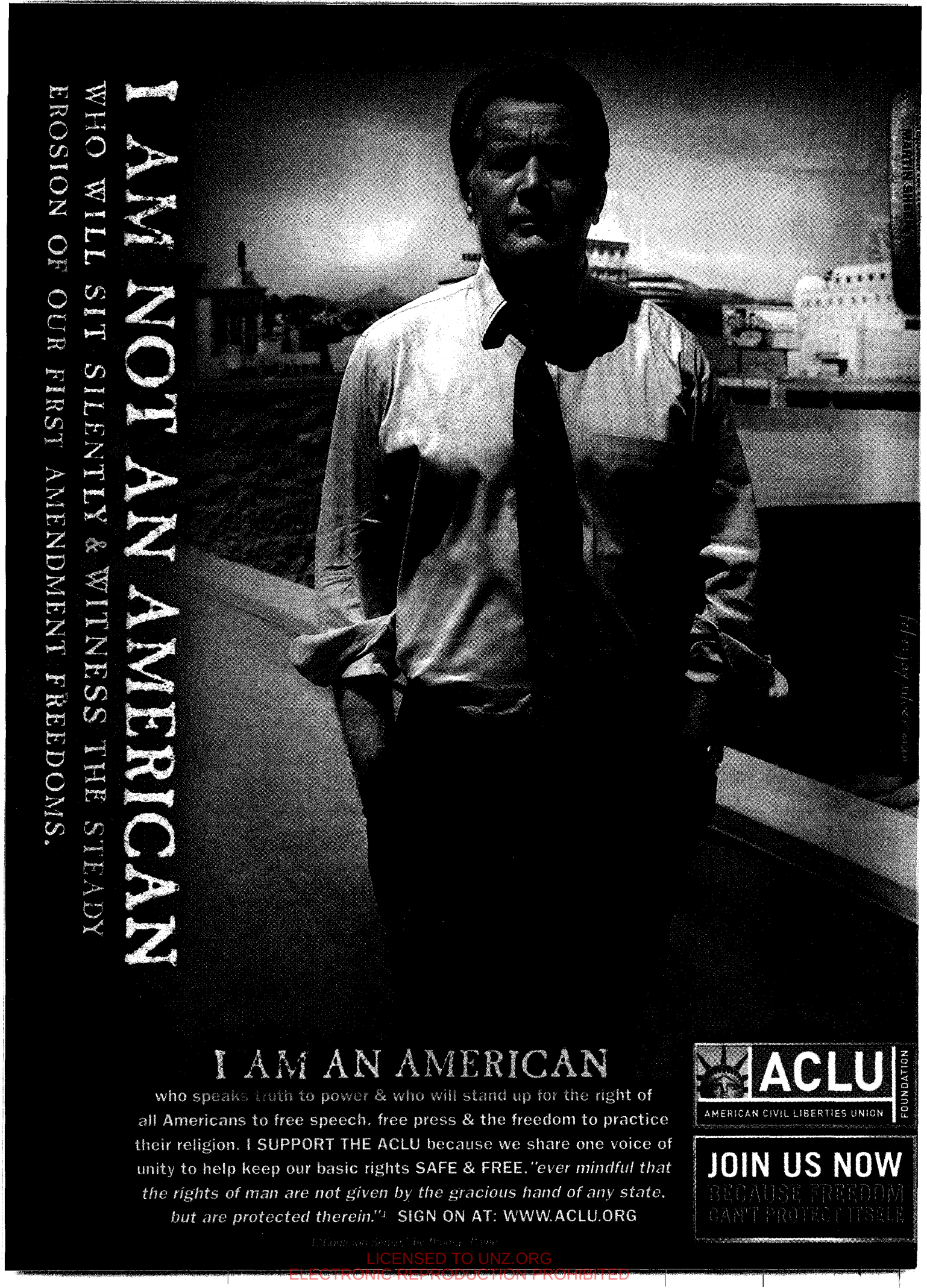
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